

James Madison University

JMU Scholarly Commons

[All Bulletins](#)

[Bulletins](#)

4-1-1968

Bulletin Madison College, April, 1968

Madison College (Harrisonburg, Va.)

Follow this and additional works at: <https://commons.lib.jmu.edu/allbulletins>

Recommended Citation

Bulletin Madison College, April, 1968 , XXVI, 4, Harrisonburg, (Va.): Madison College.

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Bulletins at JMU Scholarly Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in All Bulletins by an authorized administrator of JMU Scholarly Commons. For more information, please contact dc_admin@jmu.edu.

MADISON COLLEGE

STUDIES AND RESEARCH

MARCH, 1968

Bulletin, Madison College, Volume XXVI, Number 3, March, 1968. Published four times a year: January, February, March, and April. Entered as second class matter November 7, 1934, at the Post Office at Harrisonburg, Virginia, under the Act of August 24, 1912.

STUDIES AND RESEARCH

MADISON COLLEGE
HARRISONBURG, VIRGINIA
MARCH, 1968

EDITORIAL BOARD 1967-68

WILLIAM McMURRAY, *Chairman*

GARNEY L. DARRIN, *Teacher Education*

RAYMOND C. DINGLEDINE, *Social Sciences*

GILBERT S. TRELAUNY, *Natural Sciences*

JOHN G. STEWART, *Humanities*

RICHARD C. MANDEVILLE, *ex officio*

CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE ALIENATION EFFECT IN THE MUSIC OF THE <i>THREEPENNY OPERA</i> <i>Richard B. Price</i>	5
THE METHODOLOGY OF URBAN BOSSISM: A CASE STUDY..... <i>L. D. Geller</i>	21
THE PALINDROME..... <i>Jay L. Curtis</i>	31
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY VIOLONCELLO LITERATURE... <i>G. Jean Shaw</i>	45
THE POST WAR SOUTH BETWEEN 1865-1875..... <i>J. A. Campbell</i>	63
PERSONAL AUTONOMY AND SOCIAL AUTHORITY: AN IMPOSSIBLE DILEMMA?..... <i>William E. Callahan</i>	73
A PHONEMIC ALPHABET FOR ENGLISH..... <i>James N. Conis</i>	89
FIVE VIRGINIA CONSTITUTIONS..... <i>John Paul</i>	99

ABSTRACT OF MASTER'S THESIS

THE USES OF EDUCATIONAL MEDIA IN FAIRFAX COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS..... <i>Mary Helen S. Youngs</i>	109
--	-----

On
the
Brec
with
tract
by J
con
man
style
any
sist
the
so. a
eight
T
per
Lon
pop
enc
ran
Mar
A
Enl
Pea
Bec
que
res
of t
—
17
R
17
Wel

THE ALIENATION EFFECT IN THE MUSIC OF THE *THREEPENNY OPERA*

by

RICHARD B. PRICE

On 31 August, 1928, in the Theater am Schiffbauerdamm, Berlin, the Threepenny Opera (*Die Dreigroschenoper*) was produced. Bertolt Brecht wrote the words and suggested skeletons for the songs to which Kurt Weill added the flesh and blood of completeness and orchestration. Brecht took for his model the 1728 *Beggar's Opera*, words by John Gay, music by Pepusch. Gay satirized Walpole and the royal court, letting established government equal the criminal underworld, using as a common factor amoral self-interest. Pepusch parodied the style of Italian opera popular in England in the early eighteenth century (made popular by Handel) by using popular airs.¹ What Brecht satirized is less clear, but it may have been the Weimar Republic of the 1920's, as Drew says, or it may have been bourgeois capitalism.² If so, *3PO* is a period piece twice removed from the present: first, the eighteenth century; second, the 1920's of Berlin.

That it is still popular belies that theory. It is more than a curious period piece, just as *Alice in Wonderland* is more than a satire on London politics of the late nineteenth century. It is the thesis of this paper that the satiric combination of words and music—especially the orchestration—allows this operetta to live lustily, while its contemporaries are relegated to oblivion or, worse, to an occasional airing on Muzak.

Although Brecht used none of Gay's songs and only one of Pepusch's melodies (#3, "Mr. Peachum's Morning Hymn"—*Morgenchoral des Peachum*, p. 10³), Gay's satire is still the play's warp, expanded to Brecht's timeless concepts concerning the state of society and the question about the hope for mankind. Weill's music is the woof. The resultant fabric unfolds satiric surprises, and therein lies the secret of the operetta's success, for what the audience expects is not what

¹*Threepenny Opera* (hereafter abbreviated as *3PO*) Program Notes, Columbia Records 02L 257 (New York, 1958), p. 13b.

²Ronald Gray, *Bertolt Brecht* (New York, 1961), p. 45.

³The song numbering is from the German piano reduction vocal score: Kurt Weill, *Die Dreigroschenoper* (Vienna, 1956).

it gets. Surely this is the intentional alienation effect (*Verfremdungseffekt*) Brecht used to keep the audience aware that it was watching a play, so that it could remain emotionally aloof from the characters.

The concept of alienation is not unique with Brecht, but comes from the Russian *ostrannenie* (or *Priem Ostrannenija*—device for making strange⁴) used by the Russian formalist aesthetician Victor Schklovsky in his 1917 essay "Art as Artifice." Although the word *Verfremdungseffekt* did not appear in Brecht's writings until 1936 in "The Alienation Effect in the Acting Art of the Chinese," ". . . the word must have come to his ears and struck him as a brilliant definition of his own favorite idea."⁵ For Brecht, the actor must not "imagine" (*einbilden*) in the Stanislavskian sense, but "portray" (*abbilden*) in the epic sense. "Epic," for Brecht, "stands as a synonym for antidramatic and anti-emotional."⁶ How strongly he felt the "anti" or "epic" concept of drama is borne out by the fact that he rewrote some of *Mutter Courage* after the Zurich production (1941) because the audience had identified with the play's heroine in spite of his precautions. Concerning the dating of his concept, "epic theater" (and its related alienation effect), Brecht considered his comedy *A Man's a Man* (1926) the first work which met the conditions of the epic theater. Because the alienation effect is part of the epic theory, one may safely apply it to the 1928 *3PO*.

Although much has been written concerning the literary aspects of the alienation effect, it seems as though no one has applied it to the combination of words and music-orchestration, perhaps because music, unlike some literature, is always expected to please. For the most part, Brecht and Weill wanted it to irritate rather than soothe an audience.

They did it through two strongly characterized types of songs: the first and most comprehensible uses dance tempos. One could call this type of song "negative mode" because it negates or obscures the thoughts of the characters who are singing by including the syncopations and tempos of popular dance forms which are unrelated to what is being sung. These dance forms are a referent outside the play, *i.e.*, from the past pleasurable experience of the audience. What makes them unusual is that they are used out of context, ironically. In the play, they fight against rather than reinforce what is being sung while

⁴John Willett, ed. and trans., *Brecht on Theatre* (New York, 1964), p. 99.

⁵Hans Egon Holthusen, "Brecht's Dramatic Theory," trans. J. F. Sammons, in *Brecht*, ed. Peter Demetz (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1965), p. 108.

⁶Oscar Büdel, "Contemporary Theater and Aesthetic Distance," *ibid.*, p. 75.

producing a feeling of irritation in the audience's mind because the past associations of pleasure simply can not comply with the ironical presentation. The second type of song could be called "positive mode" because it reinforces the emotion presented by the words which are being sung. This type of song is characterized by standard Italian tempo markings which are abstract and therefore have no direct referent to the audience. They are unusual in the context of the entire production because such songs are found not in operetta, but in the most serious of grand operas. It is their unexpected seriousness and juxtaposition among the negative mode dance tempo songs which gives them their alienating quality.

The *Overture* (#1, pp. 5-6) is a parody of the Handelian operatic overture. Handel was being revived in the Germany of the 1920's,⁷ and, of course, Pepusch set out to parody Handel in the first place, so Weill had a double reason to parody the Handelian overture. He did it by using a *maestoso* or majestic slow opening of block chords which leads to a *fughetta* of two voices (or the number of musical lines employing the subject or melody of the fugue) and a countersubject. Then he went back to the *maestoso* chords again, completing the standard A-B-A (*maestoso-fughetta-maestoso*) form. The parody lies not in the harmonic structure so much as in the orchestration. Weill used twenty instruments and ten musicians, according to the Universal Edition title page. As in the dance band convention, the musicians double. For example, the Eb alto saxophone player also plays the flute and first Bb clarinet. Weill employed a dance band to play Handelian rhythms, but with Weillian harmonies. The resultant mushy modern brass and woodwind sound is extraordinary, for enough of the eighteenth century remains to be recognizable, but the way it is couched is totally alien to it. The effect shocks the same way painting a Greco-Roman female nude statue flesh color, clothing her in nylons, spike heels, and a cocktail dress would shock. Such is the shape of this operetta's musical key.

The Street Singer, the first character seen and heard after the overture is played, is the audience's confidant. He is the one who introduces the main character through the "Ballad of Mack the Knife" (*Moritat*, #2, pp. 7-9). It is he who introduces each scene and each song. He is obviously a heavy-handed device for rubbing the audience the wrong way, for the direct address had fallen out of fashion until Brecht re-

⁷Walter Weideli, *The Art of Bertolt Brecht* (New York, 1963), p. 25.

vived it. But the song would not be nearly as successful without the music's undercutting of the words.

The "Ballad of Mack the Knife" swings pleasantly along in what Weill marked "Blues-tempo." It is certainly not a blues in melodic feeling, although the tempo is similar to something like the "St. Louis Blues"—common time, two strong beats in each measure. Its fate is the most obvious example of the audience's being preconditioned to the pleasure of music—witness the Louis Armstrong recording made during the long run of the New York production—so contrary to Brecht's intentions—which began in 1955.⁸ The English words have little to do with the original German. Instead of words and music working as Brecht and Weill wanted them to, the words in the popular version are simply noise added to the virtuoso trumpet. So be it. Weill, on the other hand, orchestrated the first three verses with a plodding accompaniment and then, when there is stage business (*Peachum and family cross the stage*⁹), made a variation on the song's theme—crime. As the variations increase in complexity, one realizes the increasing horror of Macheath's knife; yet all the while, the oozy harmonium imitates the *Leierkastens* or hurdy-gurdy, the connotations of which are obvious to any one who remembers hearing and seeing one (alas, no more in the United States).

While street singers traditionally sing what people want to hear—songs about love or heroic men—the irony here is that the hero is a murderer and that the "people" on stage are very much interested in him. In the complexity which always seems to necessitate setting the scene, Brecht used underworld characters who behaved like the good middle class people sitting in the audience—those who would enjoy the music of "Mack the Knife" set appropriately to mamby-pamby popular song words, as they were thirty years later in the popular recordings. But within the play, the characters as well as the words are a photographic negative of morality—or of the way morality is publically practiced. Indeed, Brecht used projected photographic flash cards and hanging signs, not only in this production, but in others as well, which naturally added to the audience's being irritated or alienated. That the New York production's staging was ordinary—lacking the Brechtian paraphernalia—speaks poorly of its director. But that it was still successful is due, in no small part, to the power of the music and words that Brecht and Weill had created.

⁸Program notes, p. 15.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 29a.

But because Brecht was a playwright of ideas, the character of the Street Singer is not developed. He could be a voice offstage (and what he says is sometimes doubled by flash cards); but without his song and comments, the other characters would suffer dehydration and the plot (less important than the situations within it, like opera) would lose what little continuity it has. It is his music which binds him to the audience and allows him to lead them where he wishes, for the music is obviously enjoyable by itself—enough to spring the psychological trap and allow the audience to be relaxed enough and off guard enough to let the meaning of the words penetrate, which is exactly what the alienation effect is supposed to do. The “easy-going” character of the “Ballad of Mack the Knife” music is especially effective as the sweetly familiar antithesis of the foreground classically inspired overture.

The second song, the only one using a Pepusch melody (“Air I—An Old Woman Clothed in Gray, etc.,”¹⁰), is hardly in dance tempo (“Mr. Peachum’s Morning Hymn,” #3, p. 10), being marked “solemnly” (*Feierlich*) and sounding like a hymn, which is exactly what it is, but a perverted hymn. The solemn melody and block chords—suspiciously Lutheran—reflect what the Street Singer has just said:

In order to combat the increasing hardheartedness of men, Mr. J.J. Peachum, merchant, has opened a shop where the poorest of the poor may acquire an appearance that will touch the stoniest of hearts.¹¹

But how out of order are the words which make apparent the irony of the Street Singer’s preceding statement. One first reacts by thinking how kind Mr. Peachum is to help the poor, but not for long. The music is a beautiful reflection of Peachum’s honest hypocrisy. It reinforces his moral ethic of arousing human pity which is, as he says, “spiritual weapons.”¹¹ A hymn is nothing if not a spiritual weapon; but again, the expected is perverted: Peachum’s piety is not religious but selfish. As he applies the biblical saws, “It is more blessed to give than to receive,” and “Give and it shall be given unto you,”¹² to theft, one realizes how magnificently appropriate the music is which introduces him to the audience.

By the time Peachum and his wife sing the “Instead-of Song”

¹⁰John Gay, *The Beggar’s Opera*, ed. Benjamin W. Griffith, Jr. (New York, 1962), p. 62.

¹¹Eric Bentley, ed., *The Modern Theatre* (New York, 1955), I, p. 113.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 114.

(*Anstatt Dass-Song*, #4, pp. 11-13) we find that while he is true to his code of non-ethics, she has been duped by none other than Macheath who has been courting their daughter, Polly. She (Mrs. Peachum) repents having succumbed to flattery and joins her husband in deriding romantic love with sharp anger, while the music's pizzicato and short block chords reflect their heated frustration. This is the first time the music reflects the feeling behind the sung words. There is no background to draw upon this time: no Handel, no blues, no choral. The music is abstract; it is rhythmically punctuated, but not with the syncopated rhythm of dance music which will be the keynote for most of the other numbers. Even its rhythmic designation—*moderato*—is abstract, thereby allowing the words and music to join by excluding a concrete referent. The irony of characterization is that while the Peachums sing of Polly's doing something other than what she ought to be doing, they have practiced that duplicity to the point of its being their way of life. It is interesting to note the tempos of the songs so far: they have alternated slow-fast-slow-fast in the honored eighteenth century tradition of contrast (as in a suite, for example), used to keep up the listener's interest.

The next song, "Wedding Song for Poor People" (*Hochzeits-Lied*, #5, p. 14), is sung by a chorus of Macheath's thugs and, like that which preceded it, is less a use of the popular idiom for contrast than it is a vehicle for emotion. On stage, Macheath's thugs are sawing legs off a stolen harpsichord so that he and his bride, Polly, may use it as a bench to sit on. The music is heavy, reflecting a sawing motion, with pauses for breath every so often: "hoch sollen sie leben, hoch, hoch, hoch!" The irony of their destructive action is reflected in the words which tell about an impromptu wedding, obviously meaning to imply that of Macheath and Polly. The alienation effect is here, as in the preceding song, not directed at the audience so much as it is an internecine affair. In this case, one may say that either Brecht and Weill were more subtle than in the dance tempo songs, or that they failed to alienate adequately. One may allow the former if the audience is able to identify thoroughly enough with the characters to be emotionally hurt as the characters hurt themselves. However, there is no reason why every song should be built the same way. For the audience to enter into the characters' emotions the songs must have the depth lacking in the merely clever (but admittedly more memorable) dance tempo or negative mode songs. It may be, then, that, for purposes of characterization, the non-alienation songs, that is, songs in which words and music

aid rather than fight each other, are vitally necessary to keep the operetta from sounding like a clever musical revue.

There are two kinds of songs, then. The alienation effect is in both the negative mode, characterized by popular dance rhythm indications (the overture must be included in this mode because of its satiric intent), and the positive mode of conventionally serious and perhaps operatic songs, characterized by Italian tempo markings, such as the next: "Pirate-Jenny" (*Seeräuber-Jenny*, #6, pp. 15-17) which is marked *allegretto*. As far as the music is concerned, "Pirate-Jenny" reflects the bite of the daydreaming barmaid; in that way it is conventional. But it is not conventional to wed words and music in such a way outside the *lieder* recital or opera house, especially not in operetta (of the 1920's). So there is a paradox: by its very seriousness this song and the others like it achieve the alienation effect because the audience ought to be just as startled by the very seriousness of the positive as it is with the dance tempo or negative mode songs.

Yet the situation within the play could not be more negative. Polly, to dispel boredom and entertain the wedding guests (if such they may be called) asks them to pretend that she is a vindictive barmaid, Pirate-Jenny. She pantomimes Jenny behind the bar, then sings. Brecht has created a play within the play, a device artificial enough to allow the tawdry bitterness of the barmaid, so completely out of character for Polly, to succeed dramatically. It is as though Gracie Allen were to recite a scene from *Medea*. When Polly finishes, Matthew, one of the thugs, says "very nice," a reaction, if the piece is well done by the actress who plays Polly, which is conceivable in the minds of the audience (although they might wonder why the song was sung—the bride does not usually entertain at her own wedding). Macheath's answer is the key: "It's not nice, you fool! It's art." He then whispers to Polly, "I don't approve of this play-acting, oblige me by abstaining from it in the future."¹³ It seems as though Brecht were saying to his audience that art for its own sake is immoral, or that art without a supporting reason is unreasonable—all of which supports the play's theme of class distinction in bourgeois capitalism. Macheath (or Brecht) takes himself quite seriously.

To understand the emotion involved in the negative mode songs, one must know the popular dance forms of the era, most of which are still popular. The "Cannon Song" (*Kanonen-Song*, #7, pp. 18-23) is

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 131-132.

marked "foxtrot-tempo." The foxtrot will probably be around another fifty years it is so popular. In the context of the story, one would expect a sentimental remember-when-we-were-pals-in-the-army-together song sung by Tiger Brown, the chief of police, and Macheath, as an illustration of Brecht's third level of communication.¹⁴ Instead, one has again an example of a foxtrot melody which could pass in a Lester Lanin medley. The words are anything but pleasant, illustrating what Weill said about using music in Brecht's theater: "I set up my music in opposition to the action, knowing that music excludes, by its essence, all realism."¹⁵ Perhaps this is the key to why the music and words fight so violently. In theory, Weill's concept should perfectly elucidate the alienation effect and set up in the audience's mind the appropriate reaction which, in this case, is: just how seriously does Macheath take himself? He has chastised Polly for doing exactly what he has just done!

If Brecht's characters, like Pirandello's, do not grow as do characters in novels, they are at least finely painted portraits—static, but captured with accurate complexity. Macheath's reaction to Polly's "play-acting" and his own with the chief of police is an example. While Polly's was an artistic lie and therefore reprehensible, Macheath's was a conscious lie and therefore excusable. The music bears this out by belying the words. Again, one sees how the negative mode songs reinforce the characters' thoughts.

How, then, is one to characterize the last song in the wedding scene, the "Love Song" (*Liebeslied*, #8, pp. 24-25)? After a recitative, it breaks into a slow waltz ("Boston-Tempo"), a kind of waltz no longer used, but one which would have been in 1928. It seems to contain enough of the positive mode to reflect the situation: Polly and Macheath are alone at last, singing of love by their nuptial bed, thoughtfully provided by the thugs. On the other hand, a slow waltz is certainly nothing if not romantic. But what lovers sing ". . . love lasts forever (or not so long)?"¹⁶ The rôles of association have been reversed: the music, instead of being frenetic, is sentimental, while the sentiment of Polly and Macheath's love is mockingly transitory.

The next song, Polly's "Barbara Song" (*Der Song vom Nein und Ja*, #9, pp. 26-31), is reminiscent of the English folk song "No, John, No"

¹⁴Willlett, p. 132. From Brecht's "Anmerkungen zur Dreigroschenoper": the three distinct levels are: a) plain speech, b) heightened speech, and c) singing.

¹⁵Quoted in Weideli, p. 27. Source of quotation not given.

¹⁶Bentley, p. 136

with the same result (capitulation) in the last verse. In it, Polly explains to her parents how she had to give herself to Macheath. It is a positive mode song, with the music following the ideas behind the words, beginning slowly, moving forward, and finally breaking into a fox trot with each verse. Musically, the finale of the first act behaves the same way (#10, pp. 32-39). It too is in the positive mode, for all sing truthfully about themselves and the world they live in while the music reflects the words' ideas, particularly with the hymn-like accompaniment to what Peachum sings as he holds a Bible. They are all quite honest in stating that they would like to behave well (just as Polly did in the preceding song) but "The world is poor and man is base."¹⁷ That they realize it is no deterrent from continuing, however.

Act Two opens with Macheath leaving town, in spite of the obvious advantages the coming coronation day offers a thief. Polly is afraid he is leaving her for good, as their bittersweet love song is played again (#11, pp. 40-41). Mrs. Peachum knows that Macheath can never stay away from women and illustrates her point with "The Ballad of Sexual Dependency" (not printed in the Universal Edition) (*Die Ballade von der Sexuellen Hörigkeit*). The slow waltz and the orchestration would be at home in the most genteel of hotel dining rooms. When listening, one should feel revolted, not only by the blatancy of the words, but by the softness of their musical setting. It is like watching a crime being committed: if the criminal dresses and acts according to his expected type, the audience feels complacent. But if the criminal dresses like an alderman and acts like an aristocrat, the audience is shocked by the purposeful incongruity. The melody and orchestration of "The Ballad of Sexual Dependency" are the veneer of respectability which cause the shock of the words to be more effective than if they were in the expected type song. It is exactly the same as Brecht said concerning a later play, *Street Scene* (1938):

[The alienation effect] is, briefly, a technique of taking the human social incidents to be portrayed and labelling them as something striking, something that calls for explanation, is [sic] not to be taken for granted, not just natural. The object of this 'effect' is to allow the spectator to criticize constructively from a social point of view.¹⁸

"The Procurer's Ballad" (*Zuhälterballade*, #12, pp. 42-44) is a more sophisticated example, for the song is a tango (the tango, as the cliché

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹⁸Willett, p. 125.

reminds one, is the dance of love), with the typical tango words about the long ago time when lovers did whatever they were doing, etc.,—until one realizes that they were making love in a whorehouse and he pimped for her. In this song particularly, the orchestration heightens the effect of the music's exclusion of all realism. The riffs (fill-in passages between phrases of the melody) in the saxophone, flute and trumpet show Weill's ear for reproducing the kind of thing heard in cabarets in the 1920's. (It is possible to verify this by listening to phonograph records made during that era.) One is not to imagine, however, that Weill was by any means trying to reproduce the kinds of spontaneous riffs which made jazz musicians famous. What he wrote was purposely static and devoid of spontaneity; that was his genius; for anything else would have been a mixing of styles unsuitable and distracting to the effect. In short, the melody is pleasant and expected; the orchestration fits exactly the melody's mood; all give the feeling of the salon—until one hears the words. It seems to be some kind of wry justice that while Macheath sings this, Ginny Jenny and Mrs. Peachum are preparing to have him arrested. Mrs. Peachum knows well enough his weakness and has taken pains to have him arrested as he sings of his sexual prowess.

"The Ballad of Pleasant Living" (*Die Ballade vom Angenehmen Leben*, # 13, pp. 45-49) is marked "Shimmy tempo," a rhythmic form no longer familiar and, indeed, something of a curiosity by the time the music was written, for it had fallen out of fashion just as the twist has now. It was a left-over from the era of saxophone bands and ragtime which died with the First World War. Most likely, Weill used it to *complement* Brecht's words, as he used other dance forms as a counterpoise. Paradoxically, both methods achieve the same ends in the context of the play. "The Ballad of Pleasant Living" is sung by Macheath in jail. In effect, it says that one who has money lives pleasantly; those at the top and bottom of the social scale have troubles: the hero and pauper are miserable. Macheath is always a hero in his own eyes (except when he pleads for compassion in III.iii) but he is a pauper in jail. The happy, bright shimmy music reinforces that which is bright and seemingly pleasant in this ballad—precisely that which Macheath does not feel. Both the words and music are bravado, for they are a memory of what has passed. How much more effectively the irony of the song is brought about by the shimmy than if it had been set to a mean, crabbed, dark melody!

Bravado is about all Macheath has left at this point. He is jailed and realizes that chief of police Brown will find out about the affair his daughter Lucy is having with Macheath. With that, Macheath knows that his erstwhile friend and protector will do everything in his power to see him hanged. Besides, he knows that Lucy is waiting to tear his eyes out, if she only could. He needs bravado, for Lucy and Polly, both of whom he has married, confront him together. They sing the "Jealousy Duet" (*Eifersuchtsduett*, #14, pp. 50-52) in which they address each other in a jealous rage. This is a positive mode song, for again the music reflects the ideas behind the words: first angry, then mincingly sweet (*poco meno mosso*).

The finale to the second act, "Ballad About the Question 'What Keeps a Man Alive?'" (*Ballade Über die Frage: "Wovon Lebt der Mensch?"*, #15, pp. 53-55), reflects the idea put forth in the first finale concerning the wickedness of men in an imperfect world. This time the idea is a little more specific: how does man live in the imperfect world? He lives by cheating others; morals are fine, but only on a full stomach. The examples of how he lives are inexorable: they plod dolefully on and on, followed by the music which grows louder and louder, rising chromatically until the climax is reached with a final *g* minor chord.

The first new song in Act III (after a reprieve of "The Ballad of Sexual Dependency") is musically the antithesis of the second act finale, for it sounds bright and cheerful: "The Song About the Inadequacy of Mankind's Striving" (*Lied von der Unzulänglichkeit Menschlichen Strebens*, #16, pp. 56-57). But the cheerfulness has a certain bad smell about it, similar to Macheath's "Ballad of Pleasant Living"; for Peachum, who thought he was above the law, is about to be arrested with all his group of beggars by the irate and suddenly busy Brown. Nonetheless, he, like Macheath, succeeds in escaping imprisonment by blackmailing Brown with the spectre of the deformed poor, massed in front of the queen at the door of Westminster Abbey. The bravado is successful.

Ginny Jenny's interlude, the "Salomon-Song" (#17, pp. 58-60), is a good illustration of Brecht's third level of communication (singing), heightened by the music's exclusion of realism. Instead of continuing with the plot, Brecht inserted a leisurely (*andantino*) song of *exempla* concerning the unfortunate fate of famous characters and how it is better to have nothing. The harmonium's hurdy-gurdy effect is a ludicrous Alberti bass until the last verse where Jenny Pulls the analogy

together and bemoans her fate and Macheath's. The accompaniment changes to a restless, nervously irritating syncopated figure, so different from the monotonous preceding figure.

From the first chord of the overture up to Macheath's "Call from the Grave" (*Ruf aus der Gruft*, #18, p. 61) and his plea for forgiveness, the *Grabschrift* of the "Ballad in which Macheath asks everyone for forgiveness" (*Ballade in der Macheath Jedermann Abbitte Leistet*, #19, pp. 62-63), the alienation effect and the unrealistic quality of the music are strictly adhered to in the negative and positive modes as they were set forth in the "Ballad of Mack the Knife" and the "Instead-of Song." But with the "Call from the Grave" and the *Grabschrift* or "grave writing" something happens. Words and music are combined seriously and straightforwardly on a level of intensity which does not exist in the other songs. If "The Uncertainty of Human Conditions" (*Die Unsicherheit Menschlicher Verhältnisse*) which is the first act finale gives the play's thesis, the "Call from the Grave" shows the desperation which must arise from it, while the *Grabschrift* underlines it in human suffering and fear. Macheath's bravado has failed him, and it is impossible, no matter how alienated the audience is supposed to feel, not to sympathize with him. If Brecht would not admit it, Weill admitted it quite clearly, first through the quiet intensity of the heart-beat drum figure and the breathlessness of the ballad melody, and then in the sombre melody and accompaniment (*sostenuto*) to the words. The ballad's introductory measures are four deep breaths vibrant with the beating of a heart. Each line of poetry is a musical phrase beginning as a slow breathing, then accelerating to gasps in the third and fourth stanzas. The envoi is an exhausted, bitter capitulation; the tempo slows as Macheath realizes that his life has caught up with him and gives one more snarl, then stops.

One might argue from the Brechtian point of view that this song is a failure of the alienation effect because it falls into neither of the modes. It is rather the heroic end of the positive mode wherein the words and music reflect each other in the time-honored operatic tradition. But unlike the preceding positive mode songs, there seems to be no conscious effort to keep a distance from the audience in order to keep it aware of the lesson it is being taught. The pose has relaxed; and while one could hardly say that Macheath has progressed or grown toward understanding in a novelistic sense (for he has always indicated awareness of his fate, even in love), the *Grabschrift*, even more than the "Call from the Grave," is an absolutely naked plea from the heart.

What is more, it seems as though Brecht wanted this song to be exactly what it appears to be, for its prototype—the Villon Ballades—were something that had touched the author deeply. Brecht had read and obviously admired François Villon, and even prefaced K.L. Ammer's translation of Villon's *Balladen* with a sonnet of his own.¹⁹ The "Procurer's Ballad" and the rest of the songs with "ballad" in them are forms of the French ballade, but the "Ballad in which Macheath asks Everyone for Forgiveness" is the closest to Villon; the "Ballade des Pendus" is the best example.²⁰

Macheath's plea for forgiveness, with its serious capitulative meaning and music, strips him of his masque, but not for long. All the music after it employs the same technique of alienation used before. The messenger's recitative is again in the Handelian manner, just as the overture was. The "Valedictory Hymn" (*Dreigroschen-Finale*, end of #20, p. 73) comes directly from Luther, with a baroque running *obbligato* (played off-key) thrown in for the same effect achieved in the beginning. Musically and aesthetically, the operetta ought to end with this choral as it does in Brecht's German edition²¹ and Bentley's translation.²² Why the Street Singer's three final verses were added, or when,²³ may be in the wealth of material Brecht wrote about the *3PO*, printed in the *Versuche* and untranslated. At any rate, the last three "Mack the Knife" verses simply repeat the meaning of the "Valedictory Hymn."

One may see, then, that Brecht and Weill worked together on a new idea, that of alienation, using words and music to fight against each other in the negative mode and compliment each other in the positive mode. The most intense of Brecht's three levels of communication, song, is itself satirized by Weill's purposely inappropriate music, thereby doubling the social satire originally intended. The one exception—Macheath's plea for forgiveness—is in the most intense position in the plot and is surrounded by alienation-type songs. Therefore it is all the more striking, and perhaps more memorable, for men seldom rise to such emotional heights and when they do, seldom stay there long. Knowing that, and knowing what desserts men like Macheath receive, Brecht's final irony is the happy ending—that impossible fairy tale hap-

¹⁹John Willett, *The Theatre of Bertolt Brecht* (London, 1959), p. 237, n. 77.

²⁰See end note.

²¹Bertolt Brecht, *Versuche 1-12* (Berlin, 1959), I-IV, p. 217.

²²Bentley, p. 193.

²³Program notes, p. 36b.

piness which is not in the least satisfying or, in its usual context, particularly memorable for an adult. Yet in this context, that it occurs makes it irritatingly memorable and disturbing.

Note:

A comparison of the first stanza of Villon's "Ballade des Pendus" with the first stanza of Brecht's *Ballade in der Macheath Jedermann Abbitte Leistet*:

Villon:

Brother men who after us live on,
harden not your hearts against us,
for if you have some pity on us poor men,
the sooner God will show you mercy.
You see us, five, six, strung up here:
as for our flesh, which we have fed too well,
already it has been devoured and is rotten,
and we, the bones, now turn to dust and ashes.
Let no one laugh at all our miseries,
but pray to God that He absolve us all.^a

Brecht:

You human brethren who will live when we are dead,
Let not your hearts against us harden
And do not laugh, when they lift us to the gallows,
A stupid laughter from behind your beards.
And do not curse us; and even though we've fallen,
Be not enraged at us just as the courts are:
None of us has a mind, completely matured—
You men, abandon ye frivolity;
You men, let our case teach you a lesson
And plead with God, that he might pardon me.^b

^aAnthony Bonner, *The Complete Works of François Villon* (New York, 1960), p. 163.

^bProgram Notes, p. 35b.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bentley, Eric, ed., *The Modern Theatre*, vol. 1. New York, 1955.
- Bonner, Anthony, trans., *The Complete Works of François Villon*, New York, 1960.
- Brecht, Bertolt, *Die Dreigroschenoper*, Program notes for Columbia recording O2L 257, New York, 1958.
- _____. *Versuche 1-12*, vol. 1-4, Berlin, 1959.
- Büdel, Oscar, "Contemporary Theater and Aesthetic Distance," in *Brecht*, Peter Demetz, ed., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1965.
- Gay, John, *The Beggar's Opera*, Benjamin W. Griffith, Jr., ed., New York, 1962.
- Gray, Ronald, *Bertolt Brecht*, New York, 1961.
- Holthusen, Hans Egon, "Brecht's Dramatic Theory," J.F. Sammons, trans., in *Brecht*, Peter Demetz, ed., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1965.
- Weideli, Walter, *The Art of Bertolt Brecht*, New York, 1963.
- Weill, Kurt, *Die Dreigroschenoper*, Norbert Gingold, piano reduction, Vienna, _____, *The Theatre of Bertolt Brecht*, London, 1959.
- Willett, John, ed. and trans., *Brecht on Theatre*, New York, 1964.
1956.

THE METHODOLOGY OF URBAN BOSSISM: A CASE STUDY

by

L. D. GELLER

Through the years the American city has been the setting for political controversy and, very recently, extreme violence. Because of the riots of 1967, the nation has mobilized its resources, albeit too late, to determine the causes of these great urban disturbances. Vice-President Humphrey has urgently called for a Marshall Plan for American cities, but President Johnson and Congress have been cool to the idea. Social scientists have been rushed into advisory capacities in New York City by Mayor Lindsay to ward off the riots which have torn its sister city, Newark. Indeed, corps of people have been trying to find out where power lies in the metropolis and to determine how to reallocate power in the interests of racial peace. This is not to say that social scientists have not been concerned with this problem before. Patterns of influence and power structures and elites have, in recent years, been major points of concentration for scholars of urban problems and for local government experts in general.¹ Yet, when one observes the twentieth century American city with its multiplicity of function, its bureaucracy, and its sheer size, it would seem incredible that any group of men, much less a single individual, could exercise extensive political control in the modern metropolis.

Recent scholarship has attempted to demonstrate that the concept of the "power elite" advanced by C. Wright Mills, Robert and Helen Lynd and, lately, by Floyd Hunter is not a valid measure for examining political influence.² Social scientists are now insisting that there are many elites, the composition of which rises and falls as issues change and groups are either satisfied or disgruntled over gains and losses.³

¹Edward C. Banfield, *Political Influence: A New Theory of Urban Politics* (N.Y., 1961) is a leader in recent thought on this subject.

²C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (N.Y. 1956). Robert and Helen Lynd, *Middletown* (N.Y., 1929). They followed this with *Middletown in Transition* (N.Y., 1939); Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure* (Chapel Hill, 1953).

³The literature criticizing the Elitist School is too extensive to be listed here in full. Some of the recent works include: Herbert Kaufman and Victor Jones, "The Mystery of Power," *Public Administration Review* 205 (1954), A critical review of Hunter's study; Talcott Parsons, "The Distribution of Power in American Society," *World Politics* 123 (1957), a long review of C. Wright Mills'

Yet, as in all cases, there are exceptions to the rule and Frank Hague, Mayor of Jersey City, New Jersey, from 1919 to 1945, is one of these. Although Boss Hague never held elective office above that of Mayor, he not only exercised complete control over the city, but nothing moved within the bounds of Hudson County of which he was not aware. In addition, he time and again was able to insure the election of his puppets as governors of the state.⁴ As Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee he was also a distinctive force within the councils of the national Democratic Party. Hague was capable of delivering the Garden State intact to the presidential nominee on the Democratic ticket if he so chose.⁵ It is therefore instructive to note or catalogue some of Frank Hague's methods of political control within the State of New Jersey and within his own bailiwick, Hudson County-Jersey City. Hague's career illustrates, as well as any, the methodology of urban bossism.

I. VIOLATIONS OF ELECTION LAW

Paragraph 361 of the State's Election Law declares that "no voter shall be allowed to vote in the ballot box of a political party if the name of such a voter appears in the Primary Poll Book of another political party as made up at the last preceding primary election."⁶ This law specifies, moreover, that a person can not change party affilia-

Power Elite in which Parson's rejects Mill's elitist explanation of American society. Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology* (N.Y., 1960). Robert A. Dahl, "Critique of the Ruling Power Model" *American Political Science Review* 463 (1958). Norton Long, "The Local Community as an Ecology of Games," *American Journal of Sociology* 251 (1958).

⁴Governors Edward I. Edwards, Jan., '20 to Jan., '23; Governor George Silzer, Jan., '23 to Jan., '26; A. Harry Moore, Jan., '26 to '29, Jan., '32 to Jan., '35 and Jan., '38 to '41. N.J. *Legislative Manual* (Trenton, 1962) 18.

The normal Democratic vote in N.J. plus the extremely large block of Democratic votes in Middlesex and Hudson Counties allowed Hague to control the election of governors. The state senate, composed of one senator from each county in the state, remained a Republican preserve, hence the Republican senatorial attempts to investigate Hague throughout his terms in office. A comprehension of the size and importance of the Hudson County vote is necessary to an understanding of politics in N.J. in the Hague Era.

⁵It is interesting to note that although Hague and Franklin Roosevelt's relationship was a very cordial one throughout Roosevelt's twelve years in office, Hague opposed F.D.R.'s nomination in the Chicago Democratic Nominating Convention of 1932. As a close political friend of Al Smith of New York, Hague, as Smith, had not forgotten the political slap in the face delivered by F.D.R. to Smith when Roosevelt became Governor of N.Y. in 1928. The breach between Hague and President Roosevelt was soon healed, however, after 1933.

⁶New Jersey, *Journal of the 85th Senate* (Trenton, 1928), 1101.

tion in successive primary elections. A proviso is made for *legal* changing of party preference by Section 362. "If a voter is registered and *did not vote* in the party primary of *any* political party at the last preceding primary election, he shall be allowed to vote in the party primary in which he offers to vote."⁷ What the law actually means is that a man who has failed to vote in an election has broken his previous party ties and has become a free agent capable of voting for either party.

It was alleged by Robert Carey, the defeated Republican candidate for Governor and by Joseph Frelinghysen, the defeated G.O.P. candidate for U.S. Senator, that they were victims of foul play in the 1928 primary elections in Hudson County at the hands of the Hague Machine. Carey and Frelinghysen contended that the Hudson Democrats, as a body, voted in the Republican ballot boxes in violation of Paragraph 361 of the election law. Why should Hudson, a solidly Democratic county, suddenly turn to the Republican standard in 1928? The answer is to be found in the political situation in the state and the nation at the time.

The year 1928 was a presidential election year. Hague, as Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee and Boss of the New Jersey Democrats, was anxious to carry his state for Al Smith, Governor of New York, in his campaign against the incumbent President, Herbert Hoover. However, before this could be accomplished, a slight but troublesome detail had to be eliminated, namely, Robert Carey, the Republican candidate for Governor of New Jersey.

Judge Carey of Jersey City was one of the few truly loyal Republicans left in Hudson County. It was therefore axiomatic that he would vigorously oppose the Hague Organization. Consequently, his 1928 gubernatorial campaign was based on his urge to "Be Rid of Haguism."⁸ "I have always been and am now unalterably opposed to the Hague Machine and all it stands for in the politics of this state. . . . The Democratic Machine has nominated the last three Governors of New Jersey and the state has witnessed a series of Hall-Mills type scandals, one after the other."⁹ Although these charges would surely be silenced in November when the Democratic Organization would rumble to its fourth consecutive victory, November, according to Hague's plans, would be too late. If Carey made a clean sweep of the Republican primaries, the gubernatorial campaign which would obviously capture

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Trenton Evening Times*, May 15, 1928.

⁹*Ibid.*

national attention, would be based on an anti-Hague platform. This would identify the Mayor with corruption and, equally as important, would damage Al Smith's chances for the presidency as Smith and Hague were known to be political allies. Hague therefore devised a scheme which was aimed at dousing all criticism of his own regime. In violation of the state's election law, he planned to swing the massive Democratic vote of Hudson County to Carey's weak Republican opponent in the primaries. The troublesome Carey would be crushed, the Republicans' strongest candidate would be eliminated, and the Democrats would continue to hold political sway in New Jersey.

The man who opposed the Judge in the Republican primary was Morgan Larson, an ineffectual state senator from Middlesex County. His political morality was as low as Hague's. Larson was therefore gratified with Hudson County's formidable support. Hague planned to hold the enticing prize of the Governorship before Larson's eyes, thereby ensuring the weak Senator's acquiescence in the electoral plot. This accomplished and Carey removed, Hague was determined to return his Democratic voters to the fold in November ensuring the election of a Democratic Governor. Larson was therefore to become the Mayor's sacrificial lamb.¹⁰

The Hague plan was executed with clocklike precision. Larson became the Republican nominee receiving 22,554 votes from Hudson County, a remarkable tally for its nearly defunct Republican Party.¹¹

Mayor Hague clearly underestimated the public reaction that accompanied Carey's heated post-primary accusations against the machine. He certainly never thought that his electoral pranks had engendered enough heat for the state senate (Republican controlled) to successfully launch, let alone complete, a full-scale investigation. By early summer 1928, the Republican taunts culminated in the Case-McAllister Investigations of the Hague Regime.

The defeated Republican candidates charged that the primary election of 1928 was fraudulent. They asserted that out of a total of 50,000 votes, 25,000 were Democratic votes cast in the Republican ballot boxes.¹² Such an overwhelming Republican vote would not have appeared strange, had

¹⁰The Republican Larson had no idea he would be dumped by his Democratic friends in the 1928 general elections.

¹¹New Jersey Department of State, *Results of Elections Primary and General 1924-55* (Trenton, 1855), 2.

¹²New Jersey, *Commission to Investigate the Violation of Law and Conduct of Public Officials*, 5 Vols. (Trenton, 1928), I, 10. Hereafter cited as *Case-McAllister Investigations*.

not Hudson been predominantly Democratic. The pervious year, in the 1927 primary election, Jersey City was able to poll only a mere 3,024 Republican votes.¹³ Judge Carey testified before the investigating committee that after the primaries he had attempted an investigation of his own. When he tried to obtain the Hudson County poll books, he was informed that the poll books were "off limits" to the public because the County Board of Elections had ruled that to view them would be a violation of the "Sanctity of Elections."¹⁴ The Case Committee, however, after much frustration, was finally able to round up the phantom election books. Some very interesting facts were uncovered on the background of the 1928 primary election in Jersey City's wards, evidence which substantiated Carey's accusations and incidentally demonstrated the methodology of an urban political machine.

In the 1926 primary election, the first ward was able to produce only 73 Republican votes, while in 1927, it turned out 115 Republican tallies. In the 1928 primary elections, this ward, which was representative of the city's other voting districts, produced a total of 1,107 Republican votes.¹⁵ All of these votes had been cast for Morgan Larson.

Judge Carey, who was running against Larson for Governor, was in the first ward on the morning of the primaries. Here he met and spoke with Leo Sullivan, Hague's Democratic County Committee Chairman. The conversation, according to Carey, was as follows:

I looked at the ballot boxes and the Republican boxes had 54 ballots in them at noontime and the Democratic boxes had four, and I said, "Leo, aren't they getting the ballots in the wrong box?" And he laughed and said, "No." And I said, "When did we ever have more than 10 Republican votes in this district?" I said, "Is this what you mean by giving me the works?" And he said, "Yes, I am sorry we have to do it." I said, "Are you going to stand there and let all the Democrats vote in the Republican box?" And he said, "Yes, and I am very sorry to do it."¹⁶

The transcript of the testimony of the investigations also revealed a surprising number of amnesia victims. Many of the witnesses, when questioned about their party affiliations, suffered a sudden loss of memory. They were unable to remember for whom they had voted, or, in fact, if they had voted at all. One gentleman from Jersey City

¹³*Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 33. Mayor Hague always emphasized the Sanctity of Elections. He never permitted outsiders to unofficially inspect the Hudson County poll books.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, I, 5.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 36.

stated that he had no party loyalties but he admitted that his wife was a member of the Democratic County Committee.¹⁷ After being interrogated further, he admitted having voted for the Democrats in 1925 and 1926. When asked what his party affiliations were in 1927, he stated that he "couldn't remember," because he had developed "dizzy spells" in the past few months.¹⁸ When asked why he became a Republican voter in 1928 with a Democratic voting tradition and family ties, he answered, "because I wanted to, I had some friends I wanted to vote for." Since the committee was unable to ascertain his party connections in 1927, he was legally cleared of fraud under the election law. The committee found many other similarly insoluble problems of *proving* election fraud.

II. VIOLATIONS OF CIVIL SERVICE LAW

The Case-McAllister investigations following the 1928 election were soon to find that the Hague-machine's employment methods were at the very least questionable. The State Civil Service Statutes stipulate that a person who holds a city or county position has to take a civil service examination before he can be placed on the payroll. In some instances, workers are exempted from this examination. The latter would be those working as confidential clerks or as secretaries for municipal officers who are ranked as Temporary Employees.¹⁹ A temporary employee receives permanent status if he remains on his job for four months. However, he first has to take and pass the Civil Service Examination in order to remain on the payroll.

However, in the aftermath of 1928, the City Clerk of Jersey City testified that many men were employed in the capacity of ballot box cleaners. This employment was said by the clerk to be temporary or seasonal and thus not subject to the Civil Service Examination.²⁰ The bulk of the work of these employees was done during the election months of May and November. After the ballot boxes were used, they were returned to the City Clerk's office until the next year's elections. The City Clerk admitted that after election day there was no further use for these employees. Oddly enough, that which should have been seasonal employment became a full-time job. These ballot boxes must have been the cleanest in the state, for the employees held their posi-

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹*Ibid.*, V, 216.

²⁰*Ibid.*, I, 173.

tions for twelve months of the year.²¹ In addition, to their ballot-box duties, "the cleaners" worked in the City Clerk's office storing records in the vaults.²² As previously mentioned, these "Temporary" employees were not subject to Civil Service Examinations unless they worked over and above the four-month period. These men were therefore on the payroll unlawfully. Fifteen days after the Case Committee convened to discuss malpractice in Hudson County, the "cleaners" took the Civil Service Examinations.²³ Other reorganization of the County's internal affairs commenced soon after the investigations got under way.

It seems incredible that the Civil Service Zone office, located in Jersey City, never detected these violations. On closer scrutiny, however, the explanation becomes apparent. The Civil Service officer in charge of the Zone office was himself being paid by the Hague administration as a clerk in the Police and Fire Departments.²⁴ However, when called upon to enumerate his duties for the city, he was unable to do so. His name, moreover, could not be found on the Jersey City payroll although he was indeed being paid handsomely by the city. This Civil Service agent was therefore actually violating the law he was supposed to uphold.

Payroll padding existed not only in Jersey City but in all of Hudson County. The sole duty of many city and county employees was to appear at a specified time to collect their salaries. They may have had other tasks to perform for the city, but the Case Committee was unable to unearth them.

III. VIOLATION OF CITY BLUE LAWS

Another concern of the Case-McAllister investigations was the Jersey City Blue Laws. Because of the "Blue Laws," motion picture theatres were closed on Sundays before 1924. In this year, however, the movie houses began to open on Sundays in direct violation of these statutes. Coincidentally, the Chairman of the City Board of Education, Joseph Bernstein, in this same year began to collect voluntary donations from the theatres, ostensibly to finance an anti-blue law campaign. Between 1924 and 1928, he amassed a total of \$250,000 or \$60,000 per year.²⁵ Hague testified that there was no connection between the \$60,000 col-

²¹*Ibid.*, 176.

²²*Ibid.*, 179.

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴*Ibid.*, V, 4319.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 4212.

lected by Bernstein and the Sunday openings of the theaters. He implied that the funds were being used to finance a campaign of education against the antiquated laws and that the openings of the movies was a by-product. The Case Committee questioned the collection of such huge sums. It saw no justification for this, except to pad the Mayor's pocket.

Joseph Bernstein consequently was subpoenaed and asked to produce the accounts of the campaign. He testified that the funds had been deposited in two special accounts and added, regretfully, that he had paid some \$30,000 for legal service for the movie operations and \$10,000 to the Fire Chief of Jersey City, Roger Boyle, to be used for the Kiddie Christmas Fund.²⁶ All of these transactions were on a cash basis. Bernstein had accounted for \$40,000. The other \$20,000 of the public monies must have gone into his "petty cash" fund. It was further demonstrated by the investigators, that each October, before the City Commission Elections, Bernstein withdrew \$11,000 in cash from the bank.²⁷ Again, he had no record of these disbursements. The Case Committee saw a possible, indeed a very probable, connection between the pre-election withdrawals and illegal financial contributions to the Hague political machine. When questioned about Bernstein's methods, Hague said, "Bernstein is a tightwad and wouldn't contribute to any fund."²⁸

The investigation of the Kiddie Fund also led to a blind alley. The Committee demanded the testimony of Chief Boyle, the benefactor of the "Kiddies." Unfortunately, he was then convalescing from a "debilitating illness" in a more temperate climate and could not be reached for comment.

Over \$40,000 had been contributed by Bernstein to Boyle in the four-year period from 1924 to 1928.²⁹ Hague insisted that every bit of this money had been used for the Kiddie Christmas Fund which he had founded when he had been Commissioner of Public Safety. These records, like those of Bernstein's, were never published.³⁰ The Committee, at this point, wanted to know precisely how these large sums were being used. They also wanted to determine whether the Fire Department, which administered these funds, was actually a bi-partisan

²⁶N.J., *Senate Journal*, 1496.

²⁷*Case-McAllister Investigations*, V, 4217.

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰*Ibid.*

group or an arm of the Hague organization bent on perpetuating the Democratic-machine in Hudson County. Was all of this contributing to the Mayor's popularity? Hague insisted that the Kiddie Fund baskets were delivered to the poor and needy.³¹ Furthermore, he flatly denied that he knew the party affiliation of those who distributed the baskets. He admitted that there had never been an audit of the Kiddie Fund since the practice of distribution had been inaugurated in 1913. When asked why he condoned Bernstein's dubious book-keeping, or lack of it, Hague was evasive. Perhaps, the Committee concluded, if he denounced Bernstein, he might remove an excellent source of revenue.

In theory, the Bernstein-Boyle Kiddie Fund was an excellent humanitarian scheme. The movie-going public contributed funds for the needy. The money was then turned over to the Fire Department and distributed to the poor in the form of Christmas baskets. In practice, however, it seemed that somewhere along the line there was a seepage. It appeared that the money was being channeled into two sources. Part of it certainly went to the economically less fortunate dwellers of Jersey City as a possible partisan donation. The rest of it, however, may very well have found its way into Hague's gaping pocket. This was one example of the political chicanery which Hague employed to enhance his personal fortune.

It was common knowledge that Hague had amassed a considerable estate. Much of his wealth obviously came from the "kick-back" system. Most of his business ventures were on a cash basis and were usually conducted through intermediaries. Throughout the investigations, he refused to answer pertinent questions, despite the fact that he had volunteered his cooperation.

Hague's system of patronage paid off handsomely since that wall of silence which surrounded his nefarious activities was never really breached. Consequently, the Case Investigating Committee failed. No serious attempt was made by the Bureau of Internal Revenue to unearth the many instances of suspected fraud. During most of the years of Hague's powerful hold over Jersey City, Franklin D. Roosevelt was in the White House. A federally sponsored probe of Hague would have cost F.D.R. the New Jersey Boss' important support. Upon Frank Hague's death, his will threw no light at all upon his financial status.³²

³¹*Ibid.*, 4235.

³²This author probated the Hague will at the Hall of Records of New Jersey in Trenton in 1963 and found that it left no clues as to the amount of money that he did possess.

However, with the demise of Mrs. Hague in the early 1960's, a probate of her will revealed a Hague estate in excess of five million dollars.

There were many great political bosses before Frank Hague and a few of lesser stature afterward. Few examples, however, are as illustrative of the methods of an urban political boss as that which Frank Hague provided. His hold on the people was one of self-interest, not charisma, not idealism. Because of this, any legal investigation of his methods was bound to turn up nothing, for he and other political bosses like him operated on an extra-legal basis. None of this detracted from his appeal to his constituency and has only added to his stature in American political folklore.

THE PALINDROME

by

JAY L. CURTIS

The palindrome [Gk. *palin*, back + *dromos*, run], defined as "a word, sentence, or verse which runs the same when read either backward or forward,"¹ has long been a curiosity of language, engaging the attention of persons as remote from each other in time and place as Alastair Reid (*The New Yorker*), the British antiquary William Camden (1551-1623), and Sotades, a Greek satirist of the third century B. C.²

If Sotades did not invent the form, it was he who gave it early currency—and infamy. Sotadic verse—though structured according to a recognized pattern in Greek prosody, the catalectic tetrameter of major ionics

_ _ √ √ | _ _ √ √ | _ _ √ √ | _ √

and thus formally quite respectable—characteristically bore such scurrilous content that only a few examples of it are extant. Since this verse was often palindromic, the term *sotadic*, used as a synonym for *palindrome* and *palindromic*, still carries with it a pejorative tinge from its ancient disreputable association.

Whatever the origin of the palindrome, the form belongs in the general category of logogriphs which also includes anagrams, crucigrams, riddles, puns, conundrums, rebuses, *carmina figurata*, certain euphuisms, *e. g.*, antithetical parisonic alliteration, etc. The palindrome, as it offers special interest for this study, differs from other logogriphs by being a special subpart of English capable of generation by minimal recursive grammars.

¹Our definition of the palindrome, quoted from the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XVII, 1961, does not include the palindromes of numbers like the year of Camden's birth, 1551, noted above. Trigg (p. 26) makes an interesting comment on the integer 99, a palindrome: "All integers in which the corresponding digit pairs symmetrical to the middle have the same sums will produce the same palindrome. Thus 18, 27, 36, 45, 54, 63, 72, 81, and 90 all produce 99 in one operation and may be said to *belong to 99*." Also see Peak's review of Trigg (p. 756). We do not further consider the palindromes of numbers in this study.

²It is undetermined whether Sotades came originally from Maronea in Thrace or from Crete. That he was the outstanding representative of a school of satiric poets writing in the Ionian dialect is certain. Appearing in Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy II (285-247 B. C.), he satirized this monarch and forthwith was arrested, bound in a leaden chest, and cast into the sea. For further discussion of this poet, see Friend (p. 46) and the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XXI, 1961, with reference to J. G. Hermann's *Elementa doctrinae metricae*, 1816.

Given an appropriate script, languages differing from each other in form as widely as the polysynthetic (Taos, Swahili) and the isolating (Chinese) types might be capable of producing the form, though we shall confine our study primarily to some forms historically constructed in the synthetic languages and to various examples in Modern English:

- (1) HE PETS ON NO STEP, EH?
- (2) BARD SAW ANNA WAS DRAB.
- (3) DENNIS SINNED.
- (4) MADA DEIFIED ADAM.

These are all simple declarative sentences, except that (1) has an interrogative tag. They all have word boundary coincidence when the strings are read forward and backward. They are, therefore, the simplest forms of the palindrome; but, as we shall see, other more complicated forms can be constructed. Also, as we shall show, the grammars that generate these sentences are not phrase structure grammars with transformational components but simple finite recursive systems capable of generating sentences only on the level of the alphabet. Sentence (4), the only one in the group with an odd number of letters, poses a special problem for these grammars, effectively solved by allowing the central, unmatched letter to stand as a primitive condition of the initial-string system. (See Grammar IV, p. 41.)

The true aficionado of the palindrome probably would prefer to concern himself only with forms showing a two-way word boundary coincidence, but many famous English palindromes are not so constructed:

- (5) EGAD, A BASE TONE DENOTES A BAD AGE!
- (6) ARE WE NOT DRAWN ONWARD, WE FEW, DRAWN
ONWARD TO NEW ERA?
- (7) SUMS ARE NOT SET AS A TEST ON ERASMUS.
- (8) DOG AS A DEVIL DEIFIED, DEIFIED LIVED AS A GOD.

Since the linguistic significance of the palindrome is on the level of the alphabet when this term is taken in its most commonly understood sense, *i.e.*, the ABC's of a language, we are concerned mainly with languages that have alphabets in the general tradition of the western languages. Strictly speaking, we are concerned only incidentally with prosodic features of stress, pitch, tone, juncture, accent, contours,

volume, etc. We are scarcely less concerned with segmental morphemic groupings (note many passages in Joyce's *Ulysses* where elementary mechanics and even word-boundary spacing are disregarded), which are normally the legitimate concern of grammarians of natural languages, for palindromic grammars are totally mechanistic and thus unable to consider the human variables in speech.

These grammars cannot consider such conventions as word boundaries unless programmed with signals for this purpose; but structures of the forms (5)–(8) have to be respaced for a backward reading no matter how the forward spacing has been incorporated into the sequences. Rules concerning forward word-boundary spacing would at best be *ad hoc*, and the simplest formulation would probably be a listing of all known cases with a provision for adding each new case to the list. A backward respacing would be a simple matter of letter counting, given an appropriate machine to operate upon a forward reading, perhaps a device like a typewriter tabulator.

On the level of the single word, palindromes are of two types: (a) those that run the same backward and forward and (b) those that form a different word in the language on a backward reading, thus producing binary palindromic structures when the word and its reverse are concatenated:

Type (a)

tenet
civic
deified
tot
Eve
Anna
madam
noon
deed
Bob

Type (b)

tar rat
tug gut
on no
ten net
pool loop
rats star
pets step
draw ward
saw was
Dennis sinned

The graphic conventions of a forward moving palindrome that differ from those of the same structure when read backward are mainly those that require spacing between words; capitalizing the initial letter of a sentence, line of verse, or proper noun; and placing appropriate internal and final punctuation marks. In practice, a structure is considered palindromic if its segmental graphs run consecutively the same way forward and backward, no consideration being given to allographic variation, position of word spacing, or punctuation marks. A palin-

drome may thus be considered a minimal graphic form of disciplined linguistic expression capable of being organized by simple string-expansion grammars.

The fundamental linguistic integrity of the palindrome as a subpart of a language lies primarily in concatenations of minimal or near minimal graphic signals which can be ordered identically for forward and backward readings. Consideration of such paralinguistic representations as Ojibway pictographs (Mallery, pp. 362 ff.) and Sumerian ideographs expressed in cuneiforms (Nesbit) may virtually be eliminated from any study of the palindrome. Egyptian hieroglyphics, on the other hand, compounded of a mixture of phonograms and ideographs represent what was apparently a system rich in possibilities for palindromes on a semi-pictographic level because the order of writing seems to have run indifferently from left to right or from right to left. Hieroglyphs running to the right are inverse mirror-images of those running to the left for the same sentence meaning "The sun rises." (Algeo and Pyles, p. 30):

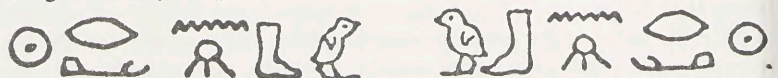


Fig. 1

For perfect graphic congruence in palindromic sequences, all graphemes would have symmetrical forms like *v*, *o*, *w*, *x*, not like *p*, *b*, *d*, *c*, etc., where asymmetrical shapes prohibit exact coincidence when the strings are doubled back from the center. In practice, no palindromes are so strictly limited since in fact they are 'mirror-images' rather than congruent forms. As an example, the English word *deified* would be considered an excellent Type (a) palindrome though none of its letters is shaped symmetrically.

The Modern English alphabet, derived largely from Latin and Latinized Greek with Semitic (Phoenician) protoforms for many of the graphs, has been widely belabored for its failure to represent adequately and consistently the phonemes of the language, some of the letters signifying no fixed value but changing with the historic demands of the orthographic or phonological environment. The graph *a* and the digraph *ou* are often mentioned in this regard. Likewise, certain minimal sounds like [i] have various graphic representations as in *be*, *see*, *sea*, *believe*, *receive*, *people*, *marine*, etc. Such facts not only mark English as "nonphonetic" when compared with a "phonetic" language like Spanish, but also restrict the potential for palindromes in

English, especially where a digraph like *qu* is phonemically /kw/ but the reverse *uq* has no phonemic representation and the combination *uqu* is very rare; or the digraph *th*, representing phonetically [ð] or [θ], combines on reverse with *g* to form a trigraph *ght*, phonetically [t], in words like *night* [nait] *ought* [ɔt], etc.

Although a closer correspondence between sound and symbol would make it possible to construct more palindromes in English, the extensive syllabic canon overcomes much of the phonological difficulty by affording a variety of combinations not possible in languages with narrowly limited canonical forms. Given a vowel (or a highly sonorous consonant in certain unaccented syllables), the syllabic canon of English allows many graphic combinations: VC, CV, CVC, CCVC, VVCV, CCCVCCC, CCVCCCC, etc., though when a syllable contains more than three or four consecutive C graphs, two of them are likely to be joined in a digraph representing a single phoneme. The word *twelfths*, a monosyllable of the form CCVCCCCC → CCVCC[θ]C, remains canonical only with the digraph representing the interdental fricative.

As extensive as the graphic syllabic canon of English actually is, noncanonical forms will occasionally enter it, retaining or slightly modifying their original orthography, e. g., *quai* [ke] or *quay* [ki], words composed in reality of two digraphs each, neither of which represents its usual English phonetic value. In English words of Greek origin, the native canon is often distorted, e. g., *phthisic*, a dissyllabic word of the form CCCVC-VC pronounced [tɪzɪk], showing *ph* as silent and *th* as [t]. The graph *s* represents [z] by intervocalic voicing.

The presence in English of a number of silent vowel graphs, particularly the mute *e* in words like *eve*, *ere*, etc., does not prevent such forms from becoming palindromic since the mute *e* can become vocalized as the syllabic peak on a backward reading. On the other hand, as we have shown, digraphs can prevent the formation of palindromes unless the constituents have different values on a reverse reading as in

(9) O GNATS, TANGO!

where *gn* [n] > *ng* [ŋg]. It is conventional, however, to assign different values to a script on a backward reading from those ascribed to a forward reading when the sense of the structure demands such a change and no unacceptable distortions arise. Some palindromists would even accept the logogrammatic ampersand as a palindrome for *and*:

(10) SNUG & RAW WAS I ERE I SAW WAR & GUNS.

But since English is not an ideographic language, such a substitution would seem inappropriate. With the omission of the ampersand, the string would still be palindromic, differing from the original only in the unimportant aspect of style:

(11) SNUG, RAW WAS I ERE I SAW WAR, GUNS.

A certain amount of palindromic license, like poetic license, is allowed by no less an authority than Webster's Second International:

(12) LEWD DID I LIVE: EVIL I DID DWEL.

Prosodic elements natural to a forward reading are to be taken in the same kind and order on the reverse reading. For example, if a palindromic sentence exhibits a pattern of pitch levels as 2-3-1 followed by a terminal fade contour ↓, which is a common pattern for a simple directive, the palindrome should be structured as follows:

(13) ²DRAW ³PUPILS ¹LIP UPWARD↓

(14) ↓¹DRAWPU ³PIL ²SLIPUP WARD

Like the elements of pitch and contour, all other prosodemes, including those of stress and juncture, can be shifted to express the same value on the reverse reading as on the forward reading.

So far, we have examined only specimens of the palindrome in English. The form can be found in Greek as well as in Latin. In Greek, a palindrome of twenty-three letters is engraved around many church fonts from St. Sophia in Constantinople to Notre Dame in Paris:

(15) NIΨON ANOMHMA, MH MONAN OΨIN.³

Perhaps the most widely known of all Latin palindromes was found marked on plaster from a Roman villa in Cirencester, England, but antiquaries have never quite agreed upon its meaning (Friend, p. 48):

(16) SATOR AREPO TENET OPERA ROTAS.

This palindrome has the peculiar quality that it can be arranged in a square with readings upward and downward as well as forward and backward:

³We are indebted to Friend (p. 48) for the information about this palindrome as well as for the translation: "Wash my transgressions, not my face alone."

S A T O R
A R E P O
T E N E T
O P E R A
R O T A S

Only the central word *tenet* reads the same forward as backward. Each of the others when the letters are repeated and reversed will form a palindrome of Type (b), *e. g.*, *sator rotas*.

An ingenious Latin palindrome composed by William Camden consists entirely of Type (a) words:

(17) ODO TENET MULUM, MADIDAM MAPPAM TENET
ANNA, ANNA TENET MAPPAM MADIDAM, MULUM
TENET ODO.

The flexible order of words in Latin syntax in addition to the Type (a) words balances the restrictions imposed by case affixes, making it possible to rearrange the order of words in the Camden palindrome in several different ways, especially since the form is composed of two independent clauses, each repeated once:

(18) ANNA TENET MAPPAM MADIDAM, MULUM
TENET ODO, ODO TENET MULUM, MADIDAM
MAPPAM TENET ANNA.

Various separate compound palindromes can be formed from the one by repeating the clauses with reverse readings:

- (19) ANNA TENET MAPPAM MADIDAM: MADIDAM
MAPPAM TENET ANNA.
(20) MAPPAM MADIDAM TENET ANNA: ANNA TENET
MADIDAM MAPPAM.
(21) ODO MULUM TENET: TENET MULUM ODO.
(22) MULUM TENET ODO: ODO TENET MULUM.

The "mirror-image" sentence, which on the level of the alphabet is palindromic, became a significant structure in the explication of generative theory when Chomsky (1957) undertook to show that English is not a finite-state language, *i.e.*, not a language that can be generated by such devices as Markov processes. A statement basic in the formulation of Chomsky's reasoning is his definition of language: "A language is defined by giving its 'alphabet' (*i. e.*, the finite set of symbols out of which its sentences are constructed) and its grammatical sentences." (p. 21) Chomsky then considers three "languages whose alphabets contain just the letters *a* and *b*, and whose sentences are defined" as follows:

- (i) $ab, aabb, aaabbb, \dots$, and in general, all sentences consisting of n occurrences of a followed by n occurrences of b and only these;
- (ii) $aa, bb, abba, baab, aaaa, bbbb, aabbaa, abbbba, \dots$, and in general all sentences consisting of a string X followed by the 'mirror-image' of X (i. e., X in reverse), and only these.
- (iii) $aa, bb, abab, baba, aaaa, bbbb, aabaab, abbabb, \dots$, and in general, all sentences consisting of a string X of a 's and b 's followed by the identical string X , and only these.

It can be shown that languages (i) and (ii) but not (iii) can be generated by simple grammars consisting of a finite set of operational rules designed to enumerate recursively an infinite number of sequences (sentences) as well as sequences of infinite length. All rules are of the form

$$X \rightarrow Y$$

with the stipulation that neither X nor Y be null. Language (i) may be generated by the following grammar:

$$(I) \quad \begin{array}{l} X \rightarrow ab \\ X \rightarrow aXb \end{array}$$

where the appearance of X on the right-hand side of the operational rule causes a regeneration of ab in the central position infinitely many times. The symbol X , as it appears on the right-hand side of the rule, is a recursive or the essential property of a generative grammar that makes it possible for a finite apparatus to detail an infinite set of sequences, each sequence longer than the one just preceding. The recursive property may be incorporated in the rules by inserting the appropriate nonterminal symbol in the right-hand component of an operational rule after this symbol has appeared on the left-hand side of the same or higher order rule. With this stipulation we could conflate the two rules above into one:

$$X \rightarrow a(X)b \quad \text{Parens} = \text{Option}$$

The addition of parentheses makes it possible to discontinue the generative process after any operation simply by rejecting further recursion. In the generation of the sequences $ab, aabb, aaabbb$, we indicate the order of the operations with superscripts in a simple chart to show the dependencies in a self-embedding expansion:

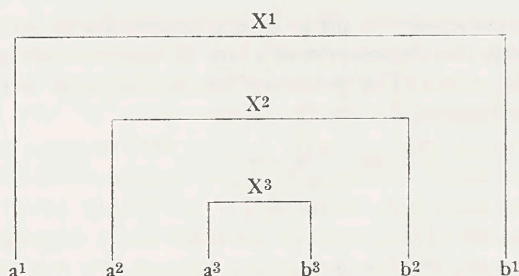


Fig. 2

The language generated by Grammar I is not palindromic. We shall see, however, that X of Grammar I in conjunction with its reverse will generate a language of Type (b) strings illustrated by Palindrome (12). (See Grammar III.)

Chomsky's language (ii) is a true palindromic language. It can be generated by four simple rules or by conflating the four into two. It is the true 'mirror-image' language central in Chomsky's "proof" that natural languages, with English as a paradigmatic reference, are composed of centrally expanding self-embedding strings, a very large number of which are demonstrable by a complex of dependencies (Chomsky, pp. 21 ff.). The conflated rules for the grammar of this language are as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{(II)} \quad X &\rightarrow a(X)a \\ X &\rightarrow b(X)b \end{aligned}$$

This grammar will continue to generate palindromic sequences, and only these, as long as the recursive X is operative.

The nonfinite language (iii) suggested by Chomsky is not primarily palindromic though some of its sequences are: aa , bb , $aaaa$, $bbbb$, etc. Any sequence of the language can be defined as $S \rightarrow X + X$, i.e., any string of a 's and b 's followed by the identical string. These sequences cannot be generated by expansion systems such as those used for (i) and (ii). These sequences can probably be easily derived by computational automata but are outside the range of our grammars, which do not contain transformational components necessary to derive all, and only, the grammatical strings of this language. We shall, therefore, not further consider language (iii) in this study.

We now present a third language mentioned above in connection with Grammar I, consisting of Type (b) sequences only and thus

palindromic only when a given X is juxtaposed with its reverse (the grammar generates the reverse of every X but does not automatically juxtapose the two). The grammar for this language is composed of the rule for Grammar I and its reverse:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{(III)} \quad X &\rightarrow a(X)b \\ X &\rightarrow b(X)a \end{aligned}$$

The sequences of this language are individually nonpalindromic (no mirror image sequences exist in the language), but half of the strings that can be generated by any operation of the grammar producing all strings of a given length may be matched as Type (b) palindromes with their corresponding reverse forms in the other half, producing compound palindromes of the form: *aaabbb:bbbbaa*; *abababab: babababab*, etc. It will be noticed that these sequences, and all palindromically juxtaposed sequences of this language, may be permuted as *bbbbaa:aaabbb*; *babababab:abababab*, etc., revealing an interesting fact about this language, namely, that there are as many Type (b) compound palindromes available as there are individual nonpalindromic sequences after the grammar operates n times.

This language was not considered by Chomsky in his *Syntactic Structures*, but in several ways it is more interesting than language (ii) generated above by Grammar II. It can more adequately account for compound structures like Palindrome (12), where the clauses may be permuted and the structure will remain palindromic. Grammar III might relate more adequately than II to palindromes of the Camden type [Palindromes (17)–(22)] because of the compound nature of the structures even though the forms are all composed of Type (a) words.

For these artificial languages with minimum alphabets, it is easy to subject the strings to basic enumeration procedures and determine how many sequences the grammars will generate at any given operation. For Grammar II, with a and b as the two letters of the alphabet, when $n = 1, 2, 3, \dots$, or the potentially infinite operations of the grammar and $m =$ the number of different letters to be used in the sequences, then $2n$ will be the length of the sequences at any n operation, and the formula will read

$$2n \text{ generates } m^n \text{ sequences}$$

illustrated on the first operation as *aa* and *bb*, the only possibilities at this operation. The next operation of the recursive will generate four

sequences: *aaaa, bbbb, abba, baab*. On the third operation, $2n = 6$, and the number of sequences will be m^3 or eight sequences: *aaaaaa, bbbbbb, aabbaa, abbbba, abaaba, baaaab, babbab, bbaabb*. If the process is continued until the strings attain a length of 20, the total number of strings the grammar will generate from the time it starts at *aa, bb* will increase to 2046. One of the strings generated on the last operation will be *aaabbbababbababbbbaaa*, a palindrome, and there will be 1023 others of this length, all palindromes. The number of strings generated at each operation of the grammar is determined by finding the required power of m on up to m^{10} .

Let us now illustrate the operation of Grammar II as it generates palindromes with more than minimal alphabets. Suppose we select the seven letters from the English alphabet found in the two words *hot* *spens*. The grammar would be expanded:

$$\begin{aligned} X &\rightarrow hXh \\ X &\rightarrow oXo \\ X &\rightarrow tXt \\ X &\rightarrow pXp \\ X &\rightarrow eXe \\ X &\rightarrow nXn \\ X &\rightarrow sXs \end{aligned}$$

When the strings are two in length, there will be seven of them: *hh, oo, tt, pp, ee, nn, ss*. When the strings are four in length, there will be 49 of them, etc. If we further apply the enumeration formula, say, when $n = 3$, the sequences will be $2n = 6$ in length as above, but at this operation the grammar will generate 343 sequences instead of eight. Now if we operate Grammar II with the specified letters in *hot* *spens*, beginning with $n = 1$ and generating all sequences through the eighth operation, the total number of sequences will be 6,725,600. The eighth operation will generate sequences of length 16, and there will be 5,764,801 of them, all palindromes. One of these will be our Palindrome (1):

HE PETS ON NO STEP, EH?

To generate a language of palindromes consisting of an odd number of letters (length $L = 1, 3, 5, \dots$), we modify Grammar II:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{(IV)} \quad X &\rightarrow aXa \\ X &\rightarrow bXb \\ X &\rightarrow a \\ X &\rightarrow b \end{aligned}$$

and derive sequences $a, b, aaa, bbb, baaab, abbba$, etc., where for sequences $L > 3$ the two-letter recursive rules generate even-number sequences to $L - 1$ before either of the one-letter nonrecursive rules is applied to terminate the sequences at L .

To illustrate the operation of Grammar IV with a more realistic alphabet, we select the six letters in the words *made* and *if*:

$$\begin{aligned} X &\rightarrow mXm \\ X &\rightarrow aXa \\ X &\rightarrow dXd \\ X &\rightarrow eXe \\ X &\rightarrow iXi \\ X &\rightarrow f \end{aligned}$$

and write the enumeration procedure as follows:

$(2n + 1)$ generates $r(m - p)^n$ sequences

where $n = 0, 1, 2, \dots$, or the operations of the grammar; $r = 1$, or the number of nonrecursive one-letter rules; $m = 6$, or the number of letters in the alphabet; and $p = 1$, or the number of single letters not elsewhere doubled. If, for example, we wish to generate all sequences of length 15, we do so at operation $n = 7$, where the recursive rules generate 78,125 even-number sequences with X recursive in each sequence. The nonrecursive rule ($X \rightarrow f$) then replaces the nonterminal X with a terminal f in each sequence. One of the sequences thus available is our Palindrome (4):

MADA DEIFIED ADAM.

Or, selecting as an alphabet the four letters in *maid*, we write the grammar as

$$\begin{aligned} X &\rightarrow mXm \\ X &\rightarrow aXa \\ X &\rightarrow dXd \\ X &\rightarrow i \end{aligned}$$

and at operation $n = 5$ generate 243 sequences of length 11. One of these sequences will be the first palindrome of all!

(23) MADAM, I'M ADAM.

Since, as our palindromes show, a mirror-image sentence is self-embedding on the level of the alphabet only, it is difficult to see how Chomsky could proceed from his definition of language as noted above to his "proof" of the nonfinite nature of English by attaching dependent

clauses to the letters of an artificial mirror-image language or to the letters in a language like (i). Chomsky states (p. 21): "... it is clear that there are subparts of English with the basic form" of the languages defined above as (i) and (ii). He then posits declarative sentences which he attaches as dependent clauses in certain subtypes of which the 'if, then' and the 'either, or' dependencies are the main ones. He then attaches other clauses within these outer dependencies to show that they will "all have mirror-image properties" of the type detailed above as (ii). But language (ii), as we have shown, is a mirror-image language on the level of the two letters of its alphabet, *a* and *b*. It is on the level of the alphabet also that Chomsky specifically describes the sequences of this language.

Chomsky's procedure, then, seems to be a serious departure from the premises upon which he bases his definition of language, and this departure renders questionable his "proof" of the nonfinite nature of English, particularly since the procedure requires that *a* and *b* shift from their explicitly stated function as the letters of an alphabet to a quite different function as variables operating as terminal symbols for clausal units in 'if, then' and 'either, or' dependencies.

Moreover, for the moment accepting the shift, if we relate the 'if, then' expansion to one of its possible and natural forms in English, we could write the sentence:

If George comes and Bill is here and Tom can leave school, then Sue will come and Helen can be with Bill and Pat can see Tom.

Using (i) as a pattern, we would get 'if *a* and *a* and *a*, then *b* and *b* and *b*' or more precisely, 'if a^1 and a^2 and a^3 , then b^3 and b^2 and b^1 ' (see Fig. 2). This arrangement obviously associates George with Pat, Bill with Helen, and Tom with Sue; but the sentence as lexicalized shows quite a different association. Hence, Grammar I cannot generate coherent internal coordinate trans-comma dependencies on a phrase structure basis, and it has not yet been shown that lexicalization is sufficient as quasi-transformational procedure to rearrange the structures in their logically coherent associations. We assume that the sentence can be derived only by applying transformational rules which will associate the *b*-clauses with the appropriate *a*-clauses, but transformational components are not included in the generative operations for languages (i) and (ii) when these languages are considered in the light of Chomsky's meticulous description of their sequences.

The fact that it is necessary to resort to transformational procedure to achieve a simple and natural order of dependencies among the

terminal symbols of the sequence considered above appears to be quite positive proof that language (i) does not contain (*i. e.*, the grammar of language (i) will not generate) some of the simplest and most pervasive dependencies in a natural language like English, even if we accept the switch of *a* and *b* from their stated roles as letters of an alphabet to a use, alien in context, as terminal symbols in a phrase structure operation. It can be shown in much the same way that structures generated as terminal symbols in Grammars II and III cannot be lexicalized in simple and natural order without the application of obligatory transformational rules.

To conclude in summary, the palindrome, quite ancient in the history of logogriffs, becomes particularly interesting as a phenomenon capable of being generated by modern recursive systems on the basic graphic level of language, the alphabet. This study finds reason to question claims that nonfinite languages generated artificially by simple finite systems have validity as proof that English as a natural language is also nonfinite. On the other hand, we have not challenged the notion that natural languages, including English, may indeed be nonfinite and thus not subject to enumeration by finite-state systems that move in a unidirectional path through successive states, each state limiting the possibilities of the next. The fact that palindromes can be constructed in English, an analytic language, as well as in synthetic languages like Latin and Greek, suggests that these graphic structures may also be isolated in many languages where meaningful forms can be reduced to specifically identifiable phoneme-grapheme correspondence.

REFERENCES

- Algeo, John and Thomas Pyles, *Problems in the Origins and Development of the English Language*, New York, 1966.
- Chomsky, Noam, *Syntactic Structures*, 's-Gravenhage, 1957.
- Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vols. XVII and XXI, 1961.
- Friend, J. Newton, *Words*, New York, 1957.
- Hermann, J. G., *Elementa doctrinae metricae*, London, 1816.
- Mallery, Garrick, *Picture Writing of the American Indians*, Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1888-1899, Washington, D. C., 1893.
- Nesbit, William M., *Sumerian Records from Drehem*, Columbia University Oriental Series, Vol. VIII, New York, 1914.
- Peak, Philip, "Have You Read," *The Mathematics Teacher*, Vol. LX. No. 7, (1967) 756.
- Pyles, Thomas, *The Origins and Development of the English Language*, New York, 1964.
- Trigg, C. W., "Palindromes by Addition," *Mathematics Magazine*, Vol. XL. No. 1, (1967) 26-28.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY VIOLONCELLO SONATA LITERATURE FROM ITALY, ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND GERMANY:

A PRELIMINARY REPORT

by

G. JEAN SHAW

The eighteenth century marked the coming of age, so to speak, in the maturation process of musical composition and particularly of string development. The era was significant for the emergence of the sonata, the growth of the sonata allegro form, and the rise of the violoncello as a solo instrument.

During the seventeenth century, the violoncello was considered primarily an accompanying instrument, meant to play the continuo parts and to provide the bass in chamber music, ensembles, and the orchestra. In the next century, however, the violoncello gained significance as a solo instrument. This study revealed that the sonata literature became a vehicle for this emergence of the violoncello. Several other factors contributed to this change:

- 1) the refinement of design by Antonio Stradivarius and the subsequent easier manipulation rendering it more responsive as a brilliant performing instrument
- 2) improvements to the bow by the Frenchman, Francoise Tourte, c. 1775, encouraged and made possible advanced performing techniques
- 3) the development of techniques and training through the organized method of numerous teachers and national schools of playing
- 4) the success attributed to the publication of method books which encouraged the development and expansion of playing techniques
- 5) the appearance of solo virtuosi who stimulated interest in the instrument and expanded its resources in performance
- 6) the increasing number of publications available for performance
- 7) the changing role of the accompaniment from its busy motivic interplay with the solo towards a thin-textured subordination to emphasize the status of the solo part.

With increased facility and progress through improved equipment, composers expanded the literature both technically and musically. Although most of the music was by 'cellists of note, by the end of the

eighteenth century many established composers such as Vivaldi and Boccherini were contributing to the field.

For this study only published sonatas were considered. At the outset, a number of terms were synonymous with sonata, for example, sonata de camera, solo, sinfonia, divertimento, concertino, or duet. Titles of individual movements were usually Italian tempo markings. In general, both sonatas and duos were presented in a two-stave score with the second part, a single-line accompaniment with figured bass. In the later editions there were no figures under the second part indicating a change in the conception of the accompanying part. Duos were published in separate parts. In the earlier works, the key signature often lacked one accidental, *i.e.*, if the signature was for the key of B flat, it used one flat only with the other accidental appearing in the score. The early sonatas were in bass clef with a moveable C clef, usually tenor, alto, and soprano while the later ones, with their expanded range, used bass, tenor, and treble (both transposed and as written, usually indicated by the octave sign) clefs. There was little use of the two lower strings—possibly because of the cumbersome nature of the thick strings and the buzz produced with the fingerboard which had not been cut away (as in modern instruments) to allow the free vibration of the C string.

There was some limitation in the use of bow and dynamic markings in French scores whereas more appeared in the Italian, English and German works. Ornaments or agreements were indicated primarily by (+) or (t) or (^^). The Italians were more inclined to write out their rhythmic intentions in an explicit manner whereas the others allowed the performer freedom to improvise.

Charts I through IV (See charts at end of article) summarize the violoncello literature contributions in the eighteenth century and modern editions of solo and duo sonatas for Italy, England, France, and Germany. The composers are listed chronologically to graphically demonstrate the contributor—the three distinct eras (Baroque with its rudimentary emphasis, Rococo with its frills, and Classic with its organized design) that are defined in this text.

The Italians in Bologna provided the initial impetus toward string activity and, later, composers in Modena were very active. Performers and composers such as Franciscello, Domenico Gabrielli, Domenico Galli, and Giuseppe Jacchini fostered this development. It is possible that the history of the violoncello sonata literature could date back even earlier to the works of G. B. Vitali, Colombi, and Gianotti, pred-

ecessors of Domenico Gabrielli if the question of terms, viol or violone, could be clarified to mean violoncello.¹

The popularity of the violoncello sonata in Italy was evidenced in the output of composition. Some 37 composers contributed approximately 320 solo-accompanied violoncello sonatas in addition to 92 sonatas for two. Fifty per cent of the productivity was between 1730 and 1750 during the Second Period (See Chart I). In attempting to analyze these works, it was apparent that the formal design of the earlier works, in particular, was so varied that it was difficult to distinguish a composite form. The favorite inner design for the slow movements seemed to stress free form with an emphasis on *bel canto*. The fast movement tended towards the binary design with irregular phrasing and a rudimentary recapitulation at the end of the final section. Corelli's influence was evident in many of the earlier sonatas which were patterned after his favorite four-movement design of Slow-Fast-Slow-Fast. To a considerable extent, the sonata da camera was fused with the sonata da chiesa into a composite stereotype.

The earlier sonatas showed limitations in range as well as in technical and rhythmic variety. Few ornaments and bow markings were in evidence. Composers frequently used the sequence as the chief means for expansion of material. The thin-textured accompaniment was subordinate to the solo part. The movements were brief so that the sonatas tended to range from 52 to 355 measures.²

The later works showed an expansion in design, length, range, and rhythmic and technical variety. The composers introduced four to five clefs, *i.e.*, bass, tenor, alto, soprano C, and the two treble clefs to express this expanded range. By the end of the eighteenth century a more clearcut design appeared with the use of three movements in a Fast-Slow-Fast or Slow-Fast-Fast scheme. The composers used major keys to two sharps and two flats. The range of keys was limited to tonic-dominant or minor to relative major with most movements in the same keys. Later, sonatas offered contrasting keys in the inner movements. The internal structure of the individual sections underwent some change. From the basic bipartite or simple binary dance design, the plan evolved into a semblance of the sonata allegro design with two themes, a development of one theme and a recapitulation. In addition,

¹Elizabeth Cowling, "The Italian Sonata Literature for the Violoncello in the Baroque Era." Ph. D. Dissertation. Northwestern University, 1967. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 67-15, 211, p. 47.

²*Ibid.*, p. 278.

there was evidence of the song form (ABA) in the slow movements with a rondo, variations, or coupled dance (two minuets and a da capo or a minuet with trio and da capo) for the final movements.

By the end of the century the technical range was expanded to the extent that the capacity of the instrument was more fully realized and the performer was certainly challenged. Rocket arpeggios of three octaves, intricate sixteenth note patterns, new bowing problems with alternations between slurred and separate bows in crossing string figurations were par for the course.

The present popularity of Italian violoncello sonata composers is evidenced by the number represented in modern editions and the variety of publishers repeating the same works (See Chart I). Since the first revival of the Baroque violoncello sonatas with the Piatti edition of Marcello Sonatas in 1874, the output has expanded beyond belief. With the advent of musicology and its subsequent serious study of performing practices of the times, more authentic editions are becoming available.

During the eighteenth century the English kept pace with the trends but were contributing little of significance. They made a scant contribution with 7 composers offering 36 sonatas (designated as Solo for Violoncello), in addition to the 18 duos (See Chart II). The majority of the available modern editions appear to be transcriptions. For example, a fine Sonata for two violoncellos, attributed to Henry Eccles in modern publication, could be an arrangement or transcription as the editor presupposes.³ The work, regardless of its origin, is a particularly effective number.

The works of Robert Lindley, John Paxton, and Walter Clagget were characteristically representative of early eighteenth century English style and practice. The multi-movement dances, linked through common keys and contrasts in mood by tempo markings from Slow-Fast-Fast design, were typical. The range was limited and technical demands were sparse.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the French entered the picture by making considerable progress in the development and refinement of the literature and in expanding the cellistic idiom. Their contribution was reflected in a Baroque flavor influenced by Corelli,

³*Sonata for Two Cellos and Piano*, attributed to Henry Eccles, restoration by Ross Lee Finney, (New York, 1941).

the Rococo diversity, and Classic efficiency and simplicity with its relative expansion of violoncello techniques.⁴

Since most musical activity was centered in Paris, there was easier communication between composers reflecting a distinct conformity in design. Paris also provided one of the more important music publishing centers during the eighteenth century as evidenced by the number of foreign composers represented by these Parisian publications. The French violoncello compositions, dating from 1726 to the end of the century, represented three main periods (See Chart III). The first period, with its four-movement design of Slow-Fast-Slow-Fast, reflected the Corellian tradition. The inner design was basically binary dance with all movements in the same key. The contrapuntal single-line figured accompaniment offered an equal-voice treatment with the solo. The middle period showed a trend towards a three-movement design of Fast-Slow-Fast with definite Rococo tendencies of style and techniques (of ornamentation in particular). The middle movement was often in a different key contrasting with the outer movements. During the last period, represented by the two Duport brothers and Jean Baptiste Breval, the thin-textured accompaniment took on a classic guise. The inner form reflected the sonata allegro design, and the composers introduced variation movements to display technical prowess on the instrument as popular finales. The emphasis in the slow movements was on a singing melodic line (probably influenced by the Italian *bel canto*) with an increased range and advanced technical display such as extended runs, rocket arpeggios, intricate *batterie* figurations and string crossing arpeggiations in the fast movements. Chart III shows that there were 196 sonatas by some 21 composers with an additional 62 duos for two violoncellos.

The Germans showed little interest until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century when Johann Ernst Galliard published a set of sonatas for violoncello in 1733 appearing after Bach's famous unaccompanied suites of 1723. Most of the contributors to the literature were cellists with 107 sonatas for solo accompanied violoncello by 17 composers and 22 sonatas for two violoncellos by 4 composers (See Chart IV). The style reflected the Mannheim influence in its rocket themes, sudden changes in dynamics, texture of the accompaniment, and sonata allegro design in miniature, *etc.* There appeared to be con-

⁴G. Jean Shaw, "The Violoncello Sonata Literature in France During the Eighteenth Century." Ph. D. Dissertation. Catholic University of America. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 63-6559, 1963, p. 216.

siderable conformity with the majority of the sonatas in a concise three-movement design of Fast-Slow-Fast. Willem de Fesch (a Hollander who worked in England), Galliard, J. B. Tricklir, and Anton Kraft are remembered by modern editions.

It was evident from this study that to the Italians we owe a considerable debt for establishing the violoncello as a solo instrument and for bringing the accompanied solo sonata to a peak. The English merely went along with the practices of the day so that their violoncello literature is novel only as an example of this. The French, however, must not be underestimated for their contribution in adding clarity, expanding the technical diversity and clarifying the sonata in terms of classic form and style. The Germans, taking the latest step, made a considerable effort to develop a style unique unto themselves. By the end of the century, they had achieved acclaim for developing violoncello technique and tone to fit their style. Consequently, they laid the groundwork for their greatest achievement which was to come in the next century. The literature provided here reflects the technical and musical trends of the times and offers a wealth of material for basic pedagogy as well as for the performing repertoire.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

- Farish, Margaret K., *String Music in Print*, New York, 1965.
 Newman, William S., *The Sonata in the Baroque Era*, Chapel Hill, 1958.
 Van der Straeten, Edmund Sebastian Joseph, *History of the Violoncello, The Viol da Gamba, Their Presursors and Collateral Instruments*, 2 vols. London, 1915.
 Weigl, Bruno, *Handbuch der Violoncell-Literatur*, Leipzig, 1929.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

- Cowling Elizabeth, "The Italian Sonata Literature for the Violoncello in the Baroque Era." Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University, 1967. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 67-15, 211.
 Shaw, G. J., "The Violoncello Sonata Literature in France During the Eighteenth Century." Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1963. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 63-6559.

CHART I. ITALIAN VIOLONCELLO SONATAS

<i>Composer</i>	<i>18th c. Ed. Solos</i>	<i>18th c. Ed. Duos</i>	<i>Mod. Ed. Solos</i>	<i>Mod. Ed. Duos</i>
I. BEFORE 1720				
Jacchini, Giuseppe Maria (c. 1670-c. 1727)	4 Son., 1695, c. 1697		1 ed., 2 Son.	
Fiore, Angelo Maria (c. 1660-1723)	3 Son., c. 1701		1 ed., 1 Son.	
Boni, Gaetano (fl. 1717-1741)	12 Son., Op. 1, 1717		2 ed., 1 Son. 1 ed., 1 Son.	
Valentini, Giuseppe (1681-1740)	12 Solos, Op. 8, 1725		1 ed., 1 Son. 4 ed., 1 Son. 1 ed., 4 Son.	
II. 1730-1750 (most active period)				
San Martino	1 Solo, 1730			
Somis, Giovanni Battista (1686-1763)	12 Son.			
Saggione, Francesco		6 Duos, 1733		
Marcello, Benedetto (1686-1739)	6 Son., Op. 1, 173-, 1746 6 Son., Op. 2, 1732, 1735		4 ed., 1 Son. 2 ed., 5 Son.	
Passionei, Carlo	12 Son., Op. 1, c. 1737			
Zocarini, Matteo	6 Son., c. 1740		1 ed., 1 Son.	

CHART I—Continued

<i>Composer</i>	<i>18th c. Ed. Solos</i>	<i>18th c. Ed. Duos</i>	<i>Mod. Ed. Solos</i>	<i>Mod. Ed. Duos</i>
II.—CONTINUED				
Sammartini, Giovanni Battista (1701-1775)	1 Son., n.d. 12 Son., Op. 3, 1740 6 Son., Op. 6, c. 1745	1 Duo, 1748	3 ed., 1 Son. 6 ed., 1 Son. 2 ed., 1 Son.	
Vivaldi, Antonio (1675-1743)	6 Son., c. 1740		5 ed., 6 Son. 2 ed., 1 Son. 1 ed., 3 Son.	
Martino, Filippo	1 Son., Op. 1, c. 1745 5 Son.		2 ed., 1 Son. 1 ed., 2 Son.	
Geminiani, Francesco (1687-1762)	6 Son., Op. 5, 1745, 1747		1 ed., 2 Son. 2 ed., 1 Son.	
Lauretto, Salvatore (c. 1710-c. 1780)	6 Solos, 1740 12 Son., Op. 1, 175- 6 Son., Op. 5 6 Son., Op. 6	6 Duos, c. 1737		
Chinzer, Giovanni (mid 18th c.)	6 Son., 1745			
Caporale, Andrea (d. 1756)	6 Solos, 1746	1 Duo, 1746	4 ed., 1 Son.	
Bononcini, Giovanni (1670-1747)		6 Duos, 1748	2 ed., 1 Son.	1 ed., 1 Duo

Pasqualli, Nicolo Pasqualino de Marzis (1710-1780)	6 Duos 6 Duos, Op. 1 1748 6 Duos, Op. 2, c. 1748, 1751	2 ed., 1 Son.
Antonioti, Giorgio (1681-1767)	5 Solos, Op. 1	3 ed., 1 Son. 2 ed., 2 Son. 1 ed., 1 Son.
Cervetto, Giacomo (1682-1783)	6 Solos, Op. 1, 1768, 1775 12 Solos, Op. 2, c. 1750 6 Solos, Op. 3, c. 1750, 1777 12 Sonatinas, Op. 4, 1781, 1790	2 ed., 4 Son. 1 ed., 4 Son.
Spourni, Wenceslaus Jos.	6 Duos, Op. 4, c. 1750	
<hr/>		
III. AFTER 1750		
Giordani, Tommaso (c. 1730-1806)	6 Duos, Op. 4	2 ed., 2 Son. 1 ed., 6 Duos
Giordani, Giuseppe (1744-1798)	6 Duos	1 ed., 1 Duo
Barretti (c. 1720-)	6 Son., 1770	
Galeotti, Stefano (b. 1745-)	2 Solos, Op. 1 6 Solos, Op. 3, 177-	1 ed., 2 Son. 2 ed., 1 Son.
Guerini, Francesco (1710-1780)	6 Solos, Op. 9, c. 1765	2 ed., 1 Son. 3 ed., 1 Son.

CHART I—Continued

<i>Composer</i>	<i>18th c. Ed. Solos</i>	<i>18th c. Ed. Duos</i>	<i>Mod. Ed. Solos</i>	<i>Mod. Ed. Duos</i>
III.—CONTINUED				
Cirri, Giovanni Battista (1740-)	6 Son., Op. 3, c. 1740 6 Solos, Op. 7, c. 1770 6 Solos, Op. 11, c. 1775 6 Solos, Op. 15	8 Duets, Op. 8	1 ed., 6 Son.	
Graziani, Carlo (d. 1787)	6 Solos, Op. 3, c. 1770		1 ed., 6 Son.	
Cervetto, James, Jr. (c. 1749-1837)	6 Solos, c. 1775 6 Solos, Op. 3			
Siprutini, Emanuel	6 Solos, Op. 1, 1780 6 Solos, Op. 3, 1764 6 Solos, Op. 5, 1770, 1775 6 Solos, Op. 6, c. 1775 6 Solos, Op. 7, c. 1775			
Auberti (d. 1805)	6 Son., Op. 6	6 Duets		
Piantanida, Francesco de	3 Solos, c. 1776			
Chiabrano, Gaetano (fl. 1752-1780)	3 Solos, c. 1776 6 Son., c. 1785			
Agazzi, Gaetano	6 Son., Op. 1, 1785 10 Son.		1 ed., 1 Son.	
Boccherini, Luigi (1743-1803)	6 Son.		1 ed., 1 Son. 2 ed., 1 Son. 3 ed., 3 Son. 1 ed., 6 Son.	1 ed., 4 Duos 1 ed., 1 Son.

CHART II. ENGLISH VIOLONCELLO SONATAS

<i>Composer</i>	<i>18th c. Ed. Solos</i>	<i>18th c. Ed. Duos</i>	<i>Mod. Ed. Solos</i>	<i>Mod. Ed. Duos</i>
I.				
Clagget, Walter (1741-1798?)	6 Solos, Op. 2, c. 1763			
Flackton, William (1709-1798)	3 Solos, Op. 2, c. 1765		1 ed., 3 Son.	
Paxton, Stephen (1737-1781)	6 Solos, Op. 1, 1770, 1772 6 Solos, Op. 3 2 Solos, Op. 4 6 Solos, Op. 8	6 Duets, Op. 1		
II.				
Lindley, Robert (1776-1855)	Solo, Op. 13, c. 178-	3 Duos, Op. 1 1800		
Greisbach, Henry	6 Sonatinas, 1800	3 Duets, Op. 1 c. 1795		
Powell, Thomas (1776-1863)		3 Duets, Op. 1 c. 1800		
Blundell, James		3 Duets		
TOTALS 7	36 Son.	18 Duos	1 ed., 3 Son.	

CHART III. FRENCH VIOLONCELLO SONATAS

<i>Composer</i>	<i>18th c. Ed. Solos</i>	<i>18th c. Ed. Duos</i>	<i>Mod. Ed. Solos</i>	<i>Mod. Ed. Duos</i>
I. LATE BAROQUE STYLE (1726-1780)				
Boismortier, Joseph Bodin de (1691-1765)	6 Son., Op. 26, 1729	6 Son., Op. 14, 1726	3 ed. of 3 Son.	1 ed., 6 Duos
	6 Son., Op. 50, 1734	6 Son., Op. 40, 1732		1 ed., 1 Duo
Berteau, Martin (d. 1756)	3 Books of Solos (not located)	6 Son., Op. 66	4 ed., 1 Son. (not authentic)	
Masse, Jean Baptiste Joseph		24 Son., 1736		
Giraud, Francois-Joseph	6 Son.			
Thomas, M. (d. 1790)		6 Son., Op. 1, 1735		
Guignon, Jean Pierre (1702-1774)		6 Son., Op. 2, 1737		
Corrette, Michel (1709-1795)	6 Son., 1733?	1 Son., Op. 24		1 ed., 1 Duo Op. 24
Martin, Francois (d. 1773)	6 Son., Op. 1 5 Son., Op. 2, 1746		1 ed., 1 Son.	
Barriere, Jean (fl. 1736, 9)	6 Son., Bk. I, 1740 6 Son., Bk. II, 1740 6 Son., Bk. III, 1733 6 Son., Bk. IV, 1740		12 Son.-Books 3, 4 in 1 ed.	1 ed., 1 Son. same as Solo Son.

1 ed., 1 Son.

Canavas, Alexandria
(fl. 1735-1753)

Patouart

(fl. 1770-1783)

Azais, Pierre-Hyacinthe
(1743-1796)

Son. No. 6, Op. 2,
c. 1754-61

6 Duos

II. Rococo Style (1760-1780)

Lepin

(18th c.)

Nochez

(d. 1800)

Cupis, Jean-Baptiste
(1741-1794)

Ray, Jean-Baptiste
(1760-1822)

Jannson, Jean-Baptiste
(1742-1803)

Jannson, Louis Auguste Joseph
(1749-1815)

6 Son., c. 1760

6 Son.

6 Son., Op. 1, c. 1765

6 Son., Op. 2

6 Son., Op. 4, 1768

6 Son., Op. 1, 1777

6 Son., Op. 2, 1770

III. Classic Style (1780-1804)

Duport, Jean Pierre
(1756-1825)

6 Son.

6 Son., c. 1765

6 Son., Op. 3, c. 1765

6 Son., Op. 4, c. 1800

2 ed. 2 Son.

CHART III—Continued

<i>Composer</i>	<i>18th c. Ed. Solos</i>	<i>18th c. Ed. Duos</i>	<i>Mod. Ed. Solos</i>	<i>Mod. Ed. Duos</i>
III.—CONTINUED				
Duport, Jean Louis (1749-1819)	6 Son., Op. 4, c. 1800		1 ed., 2 Son.	
Breval, Jean Baptiste	6 Son., Op. 12, c. 18— 6 Son., Op. 28 6 Son., Op. 40, c. 1800 12 Son., Op. 42, c. 1804		5 ed., 1 Son. 3 ed., 1 Son. 1 ed., 2 Son.	6 Son., Op. 40 same as solo 1 Son., Op. 40 same as solo ed.
TOTALS	21	62 Duos	22 ed., 26 Son.	6 ed., 16 Son.

CHART IV. GERMAN VIOLONCELLO SONATAS

<i>Composer</i>	<i>18th c. Ed. Solos</i>	<i>18th c. Ed. Duos</i>	<i>Mod. Ed. Solos</i>	<i>Mod. Ed. Duos</i>
I.				
deFesch, Willem (1687-1761)	6 Son., Op. 4, 1738 6 Son., Op. 8 6 Son., Op. 13, 1740	3 Son., Op. 1 3 Son., Op. 2	5 ed., 1 Son. 1 ed., 6 Son. 1 ed., 6 Son.	1 ed., 6 Son. 1 ed., 2 Son. (same as for 1 cello) 1 ed., 1 Son.
Galliard, Johann Ernst	6 Solos, 1733, 1746		2 ed., 2 Son. 1 ed., 2 Son. 1 ed., 6 Son.	
II.				
Filtz, Anton (d. 1768)	6 Son., Op. 5, c. 1765			
Rust, Friedrich Wilhelm (1739-1796)	1 Son.			
Eiffert, Philipp Peter	6 Solos, c. 1770			
Nicolai, Valentin	6 Son., Op. 8			
III.				
Schetky, Johann George	6 Solos, Op. 4, 1776	12 Duets, Op. 7 c. 1790		1 ed., 1 Son.

CHART IV—Continued

<i>Composer</i>	<i>18th c. Ed. Solos</i>	<i>18th c. Ed. Duos</i>	<i>Mod. Ed. Solos</i>	<i>Mod. Ed. Duos</i>
III.—CONTINUED				
Schetky, Christoff (1740-1824)	6 Solos, Op. 13, c. 1785			1 ed., 1 Son.
Bischoff, Johann George (b. 1735-)	6 Son., Op. 1, c. 1780			
Trickler, J. B. (1745-1813)	6 Son., Op. 1 6 Son., Op. 3, c. 1785 6 Solos, c. 1785		1 ed., 3 Son. 1 ed., 1 Son.	
Reinagle, Hugh (fl. 1766-1785)	6 Solos, Op. 2, 178- 4 Son.			
Zyba, Joseph B.		3 Duos, 1796		
Zumsteeg, Johann Rudolf (1760-1802)	1 Son.	1 Duo	1 ed., 1 Son.	
Kraft, Anton (1752-1820)	3 Son., Op. 1, c. 1875 3 Son., Op. 2, c. 1790		1 ed., 3 Son., Op. 2 1 ed., 1 Son., Op. 2	
Gros, Heinrich (1764-)	1 Son., Op. 1, c. 1800			

Kreick, Johann Joseph (1750-1813)	4 Son., Op. 1.			
Friedl, Sebastian Ludwig (1768-1858)	3 Son., Op. 1, c. 1800			
Muntzberger, Joseph (1769-)	3 Son., Op. 2			
Totals	17	107 Son.	22 Duos	16 ed., 32 Son. 4 ed., 10 Son.

In 1
 paged
 and se
 look o
 which
 would
 some o
 above
 ritual
 before
 light
 actors
 pathic
 circuli
 agraria
 was a
 The
 and be
 modern
 but in

Robe
 Ellis
 'New
 reason,
 p. 155.
 Jane F
 Ward
 Frederic
 Gator
 'New
 Transi
 over as
 Champ
 Page 1
 10 illus

AN ATTITUDINAL STUDY OF THE POST WAR SOUTH BETWEEN 1865-1875: A LOSING ATTEMPT TO REMAIN THE SAME

by

J. A. CAMPBELL

In 1865, the Confederacy, not the South, had lost the war. As the ragged Southern veterans struggled home, still carrying the memories and scars from the war's futile years, there were some who began to look optimistically forward to the future.¹ It would be a future in which the Southern white would emulate the Yankee progress. Dixie would cajole, weasel and woo from the Yankee his technology and some of his capital. These northern instruments would be used to rise above the ashes of Atlanta and Columbia to become a new, more vibrant, greater South!² These forward-looking Southerners would before long be following the Henry Grady and Lucius Lamar lines of fighting the region's battle within the framework of the nation. Southerners would soften their old antagonisms because these were incompatible with the growth of an industrial economy. A victory for constitutional principles had not come to an economic order based on pure agrarianism! There was a revolution in the mind of the South, but it was a revolution in tactics not goals.

The South was not planning to completely surrender its autonomy and become another Yankeedom. Objectives of social subjugation and undemocratic political rule at the state and local levels by the vocal but influential minority remained.³ The contemplated surrender was

¹Robert S. Henry, *The Story of the Confederacy* (New York, 1964), p. 470.

²Ellis Caxson Oberholtzer, *A History of the United States Since the Civil War* (New York, 1926), I, 114-116; House Executive Document, 39th Congress, 1st session, part II, p. 2 and p. 18; M. L. Avary, *Dixie After the War* (Boston, 1937), p. 155; Senate Executive Document, 39th Congress, 1st session, no. 43, p. 7; *New York Tribune*, Oct. 21, 1865.

³Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz* (New York, 1908), III, 199; Frederic Bancroft, ed., *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz* (New York, 1913), I, 355; Howard K. Beals, ed., *Diary of Gideon Wells* (New York, 1960), III, 347; Louis M. Hacker, *The Shaping of the American Tradition* (New York, 1947) II, 628-629; W. R. Brock, *An American Crisis, Congress and Reconstruction, 1865-1867* (New York, 1966), pp. 15-48; Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (New York, 1965), pp. 50-82; John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction: After the Civil War* (Chicago, 1965), pp. 152-173; William Archibald Dunning, *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New

not to be complete; it was the kind that Quintus Fabius made—to give up untenable ground in order to bring his forces into a position from which he could strike more effectively for victory.⁴ The unconscious unpremeditated, unstated but forming intention for the envisioned New South was this: to become so rich, strong and impregnable that it might maintain its old positions in the vortex of the new order.⁵ To do this, the confederate had to lift a trick from Cuffee, who had entertained him for so long. He now had to learn mimicry!

Prior to the war which two prominent American historians have designated as the second American Revolution, the South was controlled by a legendary aristocracy of large landholders which rested on monopolized labor.⁶ Both these cornerstones of aristocracy were based, generally, on that "peculiar institution" of slavery and on the exclusive cultivation of a stable crop.⁷ To the planting aristocrats manual labor was not honorable; consequently, it was performed by the Negro. Commerce and manufacturing were socially unacceptable; therefore, those who made money in commerce became planters. The general dislike for manufacturing isolated the South for industry,⁸ and the inequitable competition of free wage labor against slave labor kept most immigration from heading South. Add to these intangible attitudes, beliefs, and practices the South's suspicion of strangers and one gets a graphic picture of why the South turned herself almost exclusively to agricultural pursuits. Dixie, even though she knew that accrued agriculture profits could not match those of manufacturing

York, 1965), pp. 139-142; Claude G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era, The Revolution After Lincoln* (Boston, 1957), pp. 62-64; Carl N. Degler, *Out of Our Past, The Forces That Shaped Modern America* (New York, 1959), pp. 217-237.

⁴This is graphically demonstrated in the choosing of the leaders of the Confederacy for state and national political offices by the Southern people, the passage of the provocative Black Codes by Southern legislatures, and the resistance to the constitutional amendments.

⁵For a more complete account of the ideas expressed here see, W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York, 1961), pp. 177-189.

⁶See Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1927), II, Chapter XVIII.

⁷See Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante Bellum South* (New York, 1956). Also see Douglas C. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790-1860* (New York, 1966), p. 123.

⁸Even during the war, when there was need for manufacturing there was a public opposition to it. See Arney Robinson Childs, ed., *The Private Journal of Henry William Ravenel, 1859-1877* (Columbia, S.C., 1947), p. 202.

endeavors and diversification of industry, had continued to pursue her long love.⁹

The termination of the Civil War changed these views. It thrust aside the landed aristocracy that had controlled the slaves, shut out all competition, alienated northern capital and resented emigrants and immigrants. "King Cotton" was exiled, chattel slavery was eliminated and the planter who was content only with the cultivation of the soil was dethroned. As Francis W. Dawson, editor of the *Charleston Daily News* so succinctly stated, the disasters of the war "have taught the Southern planter that he cannot live by cotton alone."¹⁰ This postwar period was one of self-appraisal. The South had to alter its views on life. The confidence in the self-sufficiency of the Cotton Kingdom had been shattered in war.

The existing inadequacies of Southern industry and agriculture caused Southern morale to fall into a deeper pessimism. To escape from the dire circumstances of their defeat, many began to look northward for salvation.¹¹ The silent, suppressed, progressive Southerner of the three decades before the war began to come alive.

There was, consequently, a general new attitude in the South.¹² In the immediate postwar period a great awakening, which was nourished

⁹South Carolina, State Board of Agriculture, *South Carolina: Resources and Population, Institutions and Industries*, edited by Harry Hammond (Charleston, S.C., 1883), pp. 574-575. For a survey of ante bellum industrial development in the South see George Winston Smith, "Ante-Bellum Attempts of Northern Business Interests to 'Redeem' the Upper South," *Journal of Southern History*, XI (May, 1945), 117-213; Herbert Collins, "The Southern Industrial Gospel Before 1860," *Journal of Southern History*, XII (August, 1946), 386-402.

¹⁰*Charleston Daily News*, Jan. 4, 1868.

¹¹For examples of the various shades of opinion on this matter see the *Charleston Daily News*, Dec. 30, 1867; *New York Tribune*, Oct. 26, 1866; C. G. Belissary, "Rise of Industry in Tennessee," *Journal of Southern History*, XIX (May, 1953), 206-207; B. J. Loewenberg, "Efforts of the South to Encourage Immigration, 1865-1900," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXXIII (March, 1934), 363-385; William H. Nicholls, "Some Foundations of Economic Development in the Upper East Tennessee Valley, 1850-1900," *Journal of Political Economy*, LXIV (October, 1956), 400-415; Donoho, Joy and Company, *An Appeal from the Southern States to the Northern, Eastern, and Western States of the United States, to the Civilized World* (Memphis, Tennessee, 1870); Marion B. Lucas, "The New Frontier: The South, A Study of Early Attitudes of Business Groups Towards Reconstruction" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of History, University of South Carolina, 1962); John F. Stover, *The Railroads of the South, 1865-1900: A Study in Finance and Control* (Chapel Hill, 1955), pp. 54-55; Broadus Mitchell, *The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South* (Baltimore, 1921), p. 237.

¹²Thomas D. Clark and Albert D. Kirwin, *The South Since Appomattox, A Century of Regional Change* (New York, 1967), p. 5.

by the Southern press, occurred. The defeated people made a remarkable modification of their opinion in regard to economic matters. The traditional loyalty to agriculture was not repudiated, but the old boasts of cotton supremacy and the glorification of slave institutions were silenced.¹³ Ringing the bell of the new awakening in his editorials in South Carolina, F. W. Dawson wrote: "Restoration of the material prosperity of the South should be the chief object and the untiring effort of all her sons." He then called for "... improvement of her lands, ... development of her manufactures, ... extension of her railroads, ... growth of her cities and towns, ... gradual education of her people."¹⁴ Less than a week later Dawson prophetically wrote the creed of the new order: "We must adapt ourselves to the new order of things or we are lost."¹⁵

The progressive Southerners not only called upon their own people but, also, outsiders. Freudian-like, *The Anderson Intelligencer* stated that 'the magnificent, luxuriant South, bursting with undevelopment—perhaps, undreamed of—wealth, stands, today, ready and waiting to be entered in and possessed.'¹⁶

The South was not alone in its new spirit of optimism. Northern magazines and newspapers were bursting with information concerning the introduction of capital, labor and manufacturing into the South.¹⁷ To some Northeastern financial interests, economic prosperity was more important than the political problems caused by the war, and they desired a quick settlement of reconstruction unrest.¹⁸ The postwar Northeast saw the South as an area to be reclaimed and itself as the reclaimer.¹⁹

With such attitudes circulating freely, there can be little wonder that the new Southern leaders expected the immediate introduction

¹³Francis Butler Simkins, *A History of the South* (New York, 1965), pp. 255-258.

¹⁴*Charleston Daily News*, Feb. 11, 1868.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1868.

¹⁶*The Anderson Intelligencer* (South Carolina) May 15, 1867.

¹⁷See the *New York Tribune*, *The New York Times*, *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, *New York Herald*, *Harper's Weekly* and *The Nation* between 1865-1875.

¹⁸*New York Herald*, March 2, 1866; George Ruble Woolfolk, *The Cotton Regency, The Northern Merchants and Reconstruction, 1865-1880* (New York, 1958), pp. 41-42; William B. Hesseltine, "Economic Factors in the Abandonment of Reconstruction," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXII (September, 1935), 191-192.

¹⁹William D. Kelly, *Speeches, Addresses and Letters on Industrial and Financial Questions* (Philadelphia, 1867), p. 182.

of manufacturing and a quick revival of commerce in the region. The South with an insufficient supply of labor, first of all, had to rejuvenate her agrarian economy. Without abundant outside capital and mechanical experience, she had to build factories.²⁰ Almost unmistakably, her early postwar plans had to be premised upon the expectation that Northern or English capital would finance her industrial development. Almost unmitigatingly, her hope was that immigrants from Europe and the North would solve the labor problem.²¹ As usual, little thought was given to the Negro citizen of the South.

The South had always been a colony of the Northern manufacturers, and its attempt to free itself politically had collapsed in fiasco.²² But one road lay open for the South and many Southerners vowed to take it—the South must turn to industrialization to obtain economic independence from the North.

The early post war years' economic prospects looked good for the Southland. The New York and Boston merchants, anticipating unprecedented profits and a quick re-establishment of old commercial ties, immediately began an active trade with the Southern ports of Charleston, Mobile, New Bern, New Orleans, Norfolk and Savannah.²³ The early upsweep of trade led the Boston Board of Trade to announce: "Our manufacturers have reaped a rich harvest since peace was proclaimed. The opening of trade with the South has led to a demand for goods unprecedented; and the prospects ahead, for a long time to come look at present encouraging."²⁴

The trading prospects looked excellent, and with the anticipated restoration of adequate transportation facilities inland it looked as if both the coast and interior would be rapidly restored.²⁵ In Charleston, a city once eager to separate itself from Northern commercial ties, there was a great spirit of enterprise. Numerous new commercial houses reopened and financial contacts with New York, and the East in general, were sought after. Charleston again was becoming the first city of the Southern coast.²⁶

²⁰See Paul H. Buck's *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900* (New York, 1959), p. 156 for a unique comparison between the post war Southern W. A. S. P.'s and the Israelites in Egyptian bondage; Mitchell, p. 10.

²¹*The Charleston Daily Courier*, Aug. 19, 1865; Oct. 3, 1865; Woolfolk, pp. 99-106; Hesseltine, pp. 192-196.

²²Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1951), p. 441.

²³*New York Herald*, May 13, 1865.

²⁴*Twelfth Annual Report of the Boston Board of Trade* (Boston, 1866), p. 27.

²⁵*The Charleston Daily Courier*, May 27, 1865.

²⁶*New York Herald*, April 27, 1866.

Because of the rapid revival of trade and the stimulation of industry it caused, Northern capitalists were again motivated to look Southward. Optimistic Horace Greely, the crusty editor of the *New York Daily Tribune*, saw opportunity everywhere. A month before he popularized J. L. Soule's call to "go West young man," he was, in essence, saying "go South." In June, 1865, he wrote that "In all the known world, there is not another field for the employment alike of Capital and Labor so promising as is afforded throughout the length and breadth of the late Slave States of our Union."²⁷ Greely more wisely remained in the Northeast to make his fortune.

Many Northerners viewed the termination of the war as a liberation of capital in the North intended to flow South for investment. Capital that had been deterred by distrust of industry could then stream freely into the South. It was felt by most that an investor who placed money in Southern industrialization would not only receive a handsome profit from his investment, but would also be aiding in cementing the union together.²⁸

But instead of the deluge of money expected to flow Southward, there was in actuality only a trickle of Northern and European capital. And this mostly went into railroad investments. The Northern capitalists were eager to invest in the South, but the lack of confidence created by the existing political instability, and, to some degree, by the prevailing social problems dissuaded them.²⁹ Capitalists have been notoriously timid to invest in areas where there is an actual or potential danger to their investments.

Although the North was full of capital ready for investment, there was little energy or money channeled into Southern development. As Paul H. Buck, the Harvard director of libraries, so well stated in his Pulitzer Prize book, *The Road to Reunion*, the North

was so preoccupied with its own tremendous advance—in building its great industries and railroads and extending the empire of business. So far as exploitation of new regions was concerned, the New West

²⁷*New York Daily Tribune*, June 23, 1865.

²⁸Lorin Blodget, "Climatology of the United States," *The North American Review*, CII January, 1866), 43.

²⁹Francis Butler Simkins and Robert Hilliard Woody, *South Carolina During Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, 1932), pp. 290-291; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, Feb. 17, 1866; *De Bow's Review*, Nov., 1867, p. 451; Thomas W. Conway "Introduction of Capital and Men into the Southern States of the Union," *Ninth Annual Report of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York* (New York, 1867), Part II, pp. 8-13; Stover, pp. 55-56; *De Bow's Review*, June, 1867, p. 607, Jan., 1868, p. 105; Hesseltine, pp. 191-210.

of agriculture, transcontinental railroads, ranching and mining, seemed far more remunerative for investment than the harassed South with its apparently exhausted fields, its Negro disturbances, and its bankrupt governments.³⁰

A more contemporary evaluation of the growing reluctance of Northern investors to supply money to the unsteady South was given by the *New York Herald* on two separate occasions. In May, 1867, in an article on the number of failures of firms in the seaboard cities in the South the paper stated: "Since the war closed over \$5,000,000 have been invested in the planting interest of Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama by the firm represented by General F. J. Herron, and it is to be presumed that but little has been realized on the amount invested." The article continued by saying that "This is but a tithe of the Northern capital that has gone South to develop the country, and which as yet has not given a return."³¹

Over a year later James Gordon Bennett, editor of the *New York Herald*, in an editorial on the refusal of the National Park Bank to negotiate a monetary loan with an Atlanta applicant quoted the cashier as saying: "In happier and calmer times we should have been glad to entertain the negotiation; but in the present state of things, political and commercial, our board is adverse to taking risks out of the pale of ordinary mercantile transactions."³²

This is not to say that there was not any investment flowing into the South, for there was. A few examples of the various types of economic penetration graphically demonstrate this. For instance, Henry Clews, an associate of Jay Cooke, was a heavy investor in Southern issues, particularly in Alabama lands and railroads. About 1870, Clews, along with Samuel Noble and Congressman William D. "Pig-Iron" Kelly financed the Oxford Iron Works at Anniston, Alabama.³³

There was some land speculation as well, as exemplified by Henry Lee Higginson and Edward S. Philbrick. Higginson, in collaboration with Captain Channing Clapp and Colonel Charles T. Morse, bought a \$28,000 plantation thirty miles from Savannah.³⁴ Edward Philbrick, ex-assistant superintendent of the Boston and Worcester Railroad, on

³⁰Buck, p. 158.

³¹*New York Herald*, May 22, 1867.

³²*Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1868.

³³Horace Mann Bond, "Special and Economic Forces in Alabama Reconstruction," *Journal of Negro History*, XXIII (1938), 33-34.

³⁴Sophia A. Walker, "Carpet-Baggers," *Journal of Negro History*, XIV (1929), 47.

behalf of other Boston investors made a wartime purchase of about a dozen large plantations in South Carolina. This purchase was made under the 1862 instructions President Abraham Lincoln issued to the South Carolina tax commissioners to sell nearly 25,000 acres of forfeited lands.³⁵

There were also early investments in banks and factories. In July, 1865, Bostonians J. T. Bridge, A. G. Hills and Henry C. Burr associated themselves with G. W. Perry, a New Bern, North Carolina planter, for the purpose of establishing a factory to extract tar, oil and turpentine.³⁶ In Augusta, Northern financiers under the National Bank Act organized the National Bank of Augusta, with a capital of \$500,000 and with W. B. Dinsmore of New York as its first president. Dinsmore was also head of the Southern Express Company.³⁷ Industrial "Carpet-baggers" such as General John T. Wilder and H. S. Chamberlain were also active in East Tennessee in the post war lustrum.³⁸

There are many more such isolated examples. Mainly, though, the interest of the Northern banking houses during the fifteen postwar years was restricted to financing railroad securities and issues of state bonds. By 1873, the ten thousand miles of railroad track which the South had possessed in 1861 had been rebuilt and an additional eight thousand miles constructed. If Southern railroad improvement was primarily the work of Southern men, "the money which financed it came from the North."³⁹ Much of importance in the later fusion of the sections was to proceed from this railroad activity and its continuance.⁴⁰

Northern investment in Southern state bonds was to have fewer happy consequences. Widely speculative Northern purchases, underhanded radical businessmen, politicians and the corruption and extravagance of the radical controlled state governments forced the Southerners into repudiating the issues. This defaulting hurt both the credit and the reputation of the South. It was a major factor in ex-

³⁵Smith, p. 260.

³⁶*New York Tribune*, July 8, 1865.

³⁷Mildred C. Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia; Economic Social, Political, 1865-1872*, Vol. LXIV no. 154 of the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, ed. by the Faculty (New York, 1915), p. 103.

³⁸Belissary, p. 207.

³⁹Buck, p. 161.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 161-162. For a fuller account of the post war Southern railroad development see Stover.

plaining why in the early period of the development of Southern manufactures so little Northern capital was attracted.⁴¹

Up to 1880, Southern boosters were still predicting a boom in Southern industry, but the Northern attitude had grown cynical and it was convinced that the South was the most economically backward section of the country. In fact, by 1880, the North was willing to let the South solve its own destiny. The decision of whether or not to beat down the traditions of agriculture, aristocracy and decentralization was for the South to make. The New South was the South's responsibility. The seeds had been planted; all they had to do was sprout. As Professor Robert S. Cotterill has stated: "The beginning was not in manufacturing, but in publicity."⁴²

In summation, it can be said that the postwar-South wanted to wade only ankle deep into the stream of history. She wanted to imitate the North and the rest of the world only to the extent where this imitation would provide it with the resources and strengths by which she could maintain her old manners and social traditions.⁴³ Lady South wanted to beat the North at its own game—progress. For the South, progress became a symbol for a sort of new charge at Gettysburg which would incontestably and finally win for her the right to essentially remain herself.⁴⁴ But she failed at two points in her attempted assault. Her first wave of post war optimism and propaganda fell to a combination of the lack of intent of a majority of Northeastern business groups in Southern investment⁴⁵ and the chaos caused by the Radical Reconstruction she underwent. She also failed in her attempt to shade herself from the brightness of change and was forced to throw away her parasol and struggle to become a part of the moving world. Between 1865 and 1875, the South's second charge was no more successful than that of the summer of 1863, though it was longer in terms of time and even though there had been a change in tactics.

⁴¹For fuller accounts on this subject see, W. L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York, 1905); W. A. Scott, *The Repudiation of State Debts* (New York, 1893); Simkins and Woody, *op. cit.*

⁴²As quoted in John Samuel Ezell, *The South Since 1865* (New York, 1963), p. 136.

⁴³Mitchell, pp. 27-28, 46.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 9, 31, 115, 117.

⁴⁵Stanley Coben, "Northeastern Business and Radical Reconstruction: A Re-examination," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVI (1959), 68, 85.

PERSONAL AUTONOMY AND SOCIAL AUTHORITY: AN IMPOSSIBLE DILEMMA?

by

WILLIAM E. CALLAHAN

INTRODUCTION

One of the seemingly valuable desires shared by humanity in general is that yearning, either explicit or implicit, for freedom. To be sure, one would not call this desire universal, since perhaps some sections of human-kind may not share it, chiefly because they have never experienced it. And yet freedom, liberty, and autonomy are blessings greatly valued by the bulk of the human race. In particular has this "right" or privilege of self-rule been appreciated by "democratic" societies. As Baylis appropriately remarked:

Everyone, we say, has the same inherent right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This type of view, then, might well be called the philosophy of democracy.¹

However, alongside this so-called "basic" human value of autonomy is the recognition by most thoughtful people, at least by those who are not outright anarchists, that the liberty of the individual must be tempered by at least a measure of social control or social authority. Certainly some moral philosophers have made clear that man left completely to himself without society is in a constant state of war,² and even those who magnify a glorified, utopian "state of nature" at least are aware of the necessity and value of social organization.³ This two-fold recognition of the value of autonomy and the necessity of social authority raises the problem with which this paper is concerned: How is it possible to have genuine personal autonomy in the face of the apparent fact and necessity of so many types of social authority in the world? Or, to put it differently, how can one speak meaningfully of consent or acceptance of social institutions when it seems so evident that one has, in fact, so little to do with the determinate nature of those institutions? The dilemma is, that unless the idea of consent,

¹Charles A. Baylis, *Ethics* (New York, 1958), p. 338.

²Thomas Hobbes, for example.

³John Locke, for example.

acceptance, or approval of these authorities can be postulated, it can no longer be meaningful to speak of personal autonomy.

It will, therefore, be the purpose of this paper to present as clearly as possible the nature of this paradoxical problem in an attempt to formulate some tenable solution or alternative courses of action.

I. THE PROBLEM PRESENTED AND CLARIFIED

In an effort to formulate some tenable solution to the problem, it will be helpful to delineate clearly just what are its various facets. One way of achieving this is to define carefully the concepts involved and then re-state the problem in the light of such definitions. This is the method followed at this point.

Personal autonomy

The concept of personal autonomy is a varied one, having several distinct connotations. Etymologically the term "autonomy" is almost a direct transliteration of *autonomia*, the Greek word for independence. That word itself is composed of two words, *autos*, meaning "self," and *nomos*, meaning "law"; thus the idea of "self-law" or "self-rule" is the resultant meaning. This is, of course, something of the meaning of the word for Kant, who maintains that freedom means following a rule or law imposed upon oneself or prescribed for oneself. Autonomy, he says, "is the property which will has of being a law to itself."⁴ Such a definition leads to a second connotation, closely related, which is freedom to act without external constraint. Bosanquet, who has other "higher" meanings for liberty, nevertheless points out that juristic freedom means freedom from constraint and political freedom means freedom to act. He goes on to remark that:

I am assumed to be acting freely so long as I follow the inclination of my mind, apart from any painful conflict forced upon it by the prospect of physical interference with its belongings.⁵

Rousseau thinks of autonomy in similar terms; he regards it as being the freedom to deliberate, to think, to choose for oneself. In fact, man cannot be man, for Rousseau, unless he has this deliberative function;

⁴Immanuel Kant, *Groundwork of the Metaphysic of Morals*, Torchbook ed. (New York, 1964), p. 114; Rousseau had made the point earlier; *vide The Social Contract*, p. 19.

⁵Bernard Bosanquet, *The Philosophical Theory of the State*, 4th ed. (London, 1958), pp. 128-129.

otherwise he is a mere animal.⁶ This freedom to act and to deliberate entails the right also of self-determination in government.

In addition to these more literal definitions of liberty or autonomy, Bosanquet posits an interpretation which goes beyond the literal meaning. He maintains that liberty is "the being ourselves, and the fullest condition of liberty is that in which we are ourselves most completely."⁷ He contrasts the free life with the non-free, and then concludes:

It is plain that the only ground on which such an assertion can really be sustained is that the one life more than the other gives effect to the self as a whole, or removes its contradictions and so makes it most fully what it is able to be, or what, by the implied nature of each and all of its wants, it may be said really to want to be.⁸

Thus it is clear that the idea of autonomy is a complex one, and whatever solution is offered to the paradox of personal autonomy and social authority must take this complexity into account.

Social authority

Another important concept which has various facets of meaning is that of social authority. Whether one takes *de jure* authority, which is authority constituted by procedural rules, or *de facto* authority, which is that exercised by some one in actuality, it is still apparent that modern man is caught in a vast network of rules and institutions. On the one hand, there are the "general conventions" of Hume, such as property and promising; on the other hand, there are the special institutions like the family, the school, or the neighborhood. Then, of course, there is the state or government viewed as an institutional entity, not to mention the multitude of economic institutions and classes extant in society, the private associations, labor unions, etc. . . .

Along with these institutions, one might note that there are various types of rules, laws, customs, and principles that each entails or involves. Certainly there are many classifications of the various rules under which man lives; for example, social rules, legal rules (laws), moral rules, and practical maxims (like "heat before using"), just to name a few. Professor Diggs has called attention to two distinct types of rules in a recent article, namely, instrumental rules, such as those which constitute a job or describe the duties of a job, and rules like

⁶Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, ed. Charles Frankel (New York, 1947), pp. 10, 19, *passim*.

⁷Bosanquet, p. 136.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 131.

the rules of a game. The first category would be similar to many of the rules of institutions in that it points to a goal that is logically independent of the rules, whereas the latter category constitutes "forms of life" whose goal is logically contained within the rules themselves.⁹

And almost every person is subject to a vast number of these rules and institutions in a complex way. For example, a man may be a judge and decide cases on the basis of the law; be an individual whose judgments are in a language which is criticized according to grammatical rules; be a motorist who drives his car carefully according to traffic rules; be a husband and father subject to the rules of the family; be a member of a bar association and subject to its regulations; and be a member of a golf club and follow its rules. There seems to be no end to the complexity.

In this complex situation, these various rules of society constitute authorities in several particulars. First, the rules constitute the ultimate criterion of correctness, of right and wrong. Second, they prescribe the "forms of life" under which we live. Third, they serve as standards not only by which the individual judges his own acts but by which he criticizes the acts of others.

The Problem re-stated

It is now apparent that the problem of the tension between personal autonomy and social authority is a complex one; nevertheless an attempt must be made to re-state it with some clarity in the light of the discussion above. How can one either "follow a law prescribed for oneself," or be a "truly deliberative being," or be "free from external constraint," or even develop into his "real self or being," when it is apparent that his very life is practically composed of the rules and principles of his society? How can he be said to *will* the institutions of his society when it is clear that he automatically is subjected to many rules of institutions long before he arrives at the age of consent or autonomy? How can he be said to accept social authorities when it appears that he has no clear-cut alternatives? And finally, why should he remain in society at all? Questions like these constitute the complex problem of personal autonomy and social authority. This paper cannot, of course, hope to answer all of these; indeed, an attempt will be made only to suggest some alternatives.

⁹B. J. Diggs, "Rules and Utilitarianism," *American Philosophical Quarterly*, I, 32-44.

II. THE PROBLEM IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE:

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

The problem of personal autonomy and social authority, while complex, has not been without its suggested solutions. At this junction, therefore, it will be pertinent to present a few of these suggested solutions and to criticize them. It will not be possible to deal with all major philosophers in this brief section; some will be omitted who deserve much space. Aristotle, in particular, had much to say about the general problem¹⁰, but, of necessity, he must be omitted. The emphasis here will be on those theories current from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries forward.

Many of the solutions proposed in the past have been in the form of the "so-called consent theories." Such theories maintain that the fact that men are ruled by a few is due to the fact that men in general have voluntarily submitted to the authority of others for certain obvious reasons. Therefore, political obligation arises out of the consent of the governed.¹¹ This is to say that men have in some sense voluntarily surrendered autonomy in order to achieve security, gain peace, produce products, etc. . . . Thus they would feel that in so doing they are, in effect, still ruling themselves since their voluntary act of submission is that which constitutes the laws under which they live. (One must be careful at this point to note that "promising" and "contracting" are not here taken as being a historical event. Such would not be meaningful until the institutions of "promising" and "contracting" become realities themselves.)¹² Several variations of this theme will now be considered.

Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes felt that men voluntarily submit themselves unconditionally in order to maintain peace and security. Submission must be total and unconditional if it is to be reasonable.¹³ But in reality, this action does not preserve man's autonomy at all, one must hasten to add. Once man places himself unconditionally in the power of a dictator, as Hobbes suggested, then he has lost his power of criticism, and, indeed, perhaps his humanity as well. It is surely one thing to say the state has the absolute authority in terms of being the

¹⁰See Ernest Barker, *The Politics of Aristotle*, Galaxy ed. (New York, 1962), especially pp. 77, 80, 111, 167, 178, 185, 232-234, and 258.

¹¹S. I. Benn and R. S. Peters, *The Principles of Political Thought* (New York, 1965), p. 378.

¹²David Hume, *Moral and Political Philosophy* (New York, 1948), p. 82, *passim*.

¹³Benn and Peters, p. 378.

ultimate judge of right and wrong; it is another thing to give absolute power to one man or even to a few.

John Locke. Locke suggested that the justification of the authority of society was the fact that men freely consented to the authority. He felt men needed an impartial authority to propose and enforce minimum standards and to give the "rights of nature" institutional sanctions. The decision had to be unanimous only at the foundation of society; afterwards it is the rule of the majority. It would be unnecessary to secure individual consent beyond the initiation of the society.¹⁴

But Locke's position is hardly adequate. Is it at all feasible that unanimous consent could be gained for the constitution? History would seem to say no. (Witness France in 1946). Again, if there is rule by the majority, what can be said for the will of the minority? Even though one might assume unanimous consent to the constitution, one cannot say surely that the minority always consents to the principles based upon the interpretation of that constitution. And it must be noted that the "tyranny of the majority" is just as tyrannical as that of the despotic monarchy. It is certainly possible that the majority can on many occasions be mistaken also. What, in addition, would one say about a child born in a given society, concerning his assent? Locke would probably answer that at a given age he has the choice; but by the time he has the choice he is so involved in the rules and principles of his society it is not really correct to call his choice a live-option.

David Hume. As a representative of the "contract theory" of society, Hume believed that the need for society arises out of man's self-interest and limited benevolence and the inability to satisfy all his wants in his own powers. Thus man puts his self-interest to work in the interest of forming those conventions which serve as the rule-structure of society. These conventions are not in the nature of promises, but they serve as guarantors of expectations, so to speak. They tell one what to expect from others; and they tell others what to expect out of that person. These rules are authoritative in that they serve as criteria for correctness, both in our self-judgments and in our criticism of others.¹⁵ Thus it might be said that Hume saw the justification of the authorities in society in the fact that society is a means of man's achieving his own self-interest which he could not otherwise attain.

¹⁴ John Locke, *Two Treatises of Civil Government*, Everyman ed. (New York, 1924), pp. 164-165.

¹⁵ Hume, pp. 59-60.

This view has much to commend itself, but it still fails to preserve completely the idea of autonomy. Given the fact that man gets more than he loses in the establishment of society, he still loses something, and a part of that something is his autonomy. And it must be stated that although in the total view of things man probably achieves self-interest through his society, there are many particular people, say minorities, who do not find that this is the case at all. The question still would have to be raised as to whether the people really will the institutions of their society, and also whether they have any real choice as to which particular institutions they live under. It is only if one re-interprets Hume's idea of conventions in terms of implicit consent that his position can preserve autonomy.¹⁶

Jean Jacques Rousseau. Rousseau formulated the problem in this manner:

Where shall we find a form of association which will defend with the whole common force the person and the property of each associate, and by which every person, while uniting himself with all, shall obey only himself and remain as free as before.¹⁷

The solution to this problem, for Rousseau, is found in what he called the Social Contract, the substance of which is as follows:

Each of us places in common his person and all his power under the supreme direction of the general will; and as one body we all receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole.¹⁸

He went on to point out that this compact produces a "moral and collective body, composed of as many members as there are votes in the assembly, which from this act receives its unity, its common life, and its will."¹⁹ By this social contract (not a historical event), man loses his natural (physical) liberty but gains civil liberty. He gains moral liberty, and becomes truly master of himself; he is changed from a "stupid animal to an intelligent being and a man." He gains that freedom of obeying "a law which we prescribe for ourselves."²⁰ This "social being" or "public person" thus constituted is expressive of the General Will. Whenever the total group decides on a course of

¹⁶See below, p. 85.

¹⁷Rousseau, pp. 14-15.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 19.

action or rule in the public interest or for the common good, it expresses the General Will. This General Will is not the "will of all," for the "will of all" makes mistakes because of private interest, whereas the General Will cannot err. In obeying the General Will, one is obeying himself alone and remains, in his view, as free as before.

Rousseau's theory, although ideally very alluring, and even though it has much truth to it, is not without its serious defects. One rather obvious difficulty is his inability to suggest a way the General Will can be expressed except by the erring "will of all." And if this is the case, how can it be said that the General Will never errs, since the aggregate will manifestly does? The point is that it is difficult to see how Rousseau would have us particularize his idealistic concept. Another difficulty is that his view would be very hard to apply to modern society for two reasons. One, very few states are able to have all the people congregate at any given time because of sheer force of numbers. Second, there are vast numbers of private associations and the like which Rousseau abhorred, but which, nonetheless, must be considered in any justification of social authority. It would be almost impossible from Rousseau's view to account for the many complexities found in the rules and conventions of society, which, obviously, do not always work for the common good.

Bernard Bosanquet. Bosanquet, a Hegelian idealist, sought to find a way to make Rousseau's General Will the actual will.²¹ He identified the General Will with the Real Will of the individual. For him the Real Will of the individual is distinct from the actual, momentary will, for what a person really wants is much more than he wants at any given moment.²² The Real Will might be said to be all the things a person wants and all the things necessary to get what one wants.

The Real Will of the individual has a close relationship with the institutions of society. In his General Will or Real Will, what the good man wants extends beyond himself to the common good. Bosanquet continued:

The habits and institutions of any community are, so to speak, the standing interpretation of all the private wills which compose it, and it is thus possible to assign to the General Will an actual and concrete meaning as something different at once from every private will, and from the vote of any given assembly, and yet as standing, on the whole,

²¹Bosanquet, p. 99.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 113.

for what both the one and the other necessarily aim at sustaining as the framework of their life.²³

Thus, in a sense, Benn and Peters were correct when they said that Bosanquet redefined "the General Will as the structure of conventional rules and institutions in a given society" and that "an individual is not to be isolated from the society—the General Will is also his higher will, or Real Will."²⁴ But to be even more explicit concerning the relationship between the individual and the institutions of society, Bosanquet added:

We have seen that all sound theory and all good practice are founded on the insight or on the faith that the common self or moral person of society is more real than the apparent individual. . . .²⁵

Bosanquet, however, brought his theory to its main point when he made an almost complete identity between the vast network of social systems with the mental systems in individual minds. For him every social group is an external aspect of the mental systems of the individual minds and every individual mind is a system of such systems corresponding to all the social groups seen from one's particular position. The "social whole" only has being in the totality of the minds in a given community considered as "an identical working system."²⁶ In other words, the rules of institutions and society exist in the minds of the individuals in a given society; and, in fact, if one could dissect the human mind he would find this vast network of systems corresponding to the social institutions in which he has some function or participation.²⁷

In addition, it might be added that with all the stress on the social being or moral community, Bosanquet felt that true individuality is possible. But for him true individuality is to be found when the individual occupies various roles in society, internalizes the various rules or institutions, and works out the contradictions so as to contribute to the logic of the whole.²⁸ In this sense, he realizes the kind of liberty Bosanquet posited earlier, that of achieving one's being.²⁹ This is compatible with the statement earlier that the social being is more genuinely real than the individual being.

²³*Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

²⁴Benn and Peters, p. 385.

²⁵Bosanquet, p. 145.

²⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 158-159.

²⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 162-163.

²⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 165-166.

²⁹See above, p. 74.

Surely Bosanquet made great advances over his predecessors in noting the interdependence of the individual mind and the institutions of society. (Dewey had a related view which emphasized the interdependence of "mind" and environment.) But his view is not without its difficulties, some of which will now be noted. For one thing, society is much more than rules of institutions, and man is much more than a functioning of these rules. For example, rules tell one what procedures to follow in a game, but not *how* to play the game; that is, the rules do not tell one what skills or individual initiative one may use or need in playing the game well.³⁰ It seems that Bosanquet failed to make sufficient allowance for this creative and individualizing element of the persons involved.

As another criticism, it might be asked if Bosanquet actually saved the autonomy of the individual when he identified man with the social roles he follows? What can be said for the poor or the uneducated or the migrant workers who surely have a bad lot in life and find so little to offer in the institutions of society? Can they be said to will all the institutions? Surely it is asking too much to believe that they would *really* will or want all these things if they really knew their true will or wishes! Bosanquet, in answering similar objections raised by T. H. Green, had little success in the effort.³¹ His only cogent argument was that we do not thereby dispense with society simply because it is imperfect, a suggestion few would find fault with.

Another possible criticism is his view of autonomy or individuality. He maintained that it is found in the assuming of social roles, in internalization of rules, and in the working out of contradictions. This may afford an individuality of a sort, but it surely does not preserve autonomy in the sense the term is normally used. It does preserve liberty, as Bosanquet defined it, in some societies and to some degree. It may, at best, afford a limited kind of autonomy in that it provides the framework in which his individuality may work. Man can only criticize his rules in terms of principles found in other institutions; perhaps in this sense man has only a limited autonomy after all.

These criticisms of Bosanquet are not, of course, in any sense exhaustive; nor do they completely negate his basic position, which may

³⁰Cf. Omar K. Moore and Alan R. Anderson, "Puzzles, Games, and Social Interaction," in *Philosophical Problems of the Social Sciences*, ed. David Braybrooke, (New York, 1965), pp. 68-79. They argue for similarities between rules followed in games and certain aspects of social interaction.

³¹Bosanquet, pp. 267-274.

be at least partially valid. More evaluative light will be shed on the implications of his position in the section of the paper which follows. This section of the paper has attempted only to give an analysis of the major solutions suggested for the problem of social control and personal autonomy.

III. THE PROBLEM IN CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE: AN ATTEMPT AT RECONSTRUCTION

To this point the procedure of the paper has been to clarify the problem by defining the concepts involved, and then to glance critically at the solutions offered by important moral philosophers. In so doing, certain pertinent questions have been suggested or at least implied which seem to merit some consideration in relation to the contemporary scene. Such questions will now be considered, and in the process of dealing with them, it is hoped that some kind of tenable solution can be reconstructed in the light of the analysis to this point.

A. DO RULES RELY ON CONSENT?

Not the least of the problems raised in the foregoing discussion is the question of whether rules are really rules unless they are accepted or consented to by society. This is particularly important if certain persons in society or *all* persons in a given society have no part either in formulating or in consenting to the rules. As an example, suppose a manufacturer agreed with a group of workers on a given set of rules but later changed his mind, and, without the workers' consent, imposed a new set of rules. Would the workers be bound by these "rules" or would they be "rules" at all? It would appear that the workers should not be bound by the new set of "rules" so imposed. Or, to take another example, suppose in a baseball game one side decided the game should be only for five innings, while the other team dissented. Could this become a rule for that particular game? Obviously it would not. The principle thus would *appear* correct that rules are not truly rules until they have been accepted as such. It is surely true that even laws that are passed which do not gain majority obedience soon are repealed or changed, witness the prohibition amendment. This acceptance may be indirect or implied, as well as direct and explicit; but it would seem that consent would be required if autonomy is in any sense maintained. But this answer must be viewed in the light of another question of equal importance, a question now to be examined.

B. DO WE REALLY HAVE A CHOICE?

Though it appears that rules are not rules without the consent of those under the rules, it must certainly be admitted that in some cases, at least, men seem to have no such option. For example, what can be said of a child obeying the rules of the family? Does he give consent? We may say that, theoretically, at a given age the child may be able to make up his own mind concerning said rules; yet he has become so habituated to the family pattern at this time that it can scarcely be said that he has a live option.³² Again, what about institutions like the school? Children are required by the society in which they live to attend; the only option is attendance or punishment. Taxes assessed by the government which support a wide variety of institutions fall in the same category. The average citizen has little choice about paying taxes. It may, of course, be cogently remarked that such things are a part of our system of law to which one gives consent, and that one votes for legislators who make the laws, so in a sense one is following his own enactments. But in the modern state, the individual person really has so very little to do with the *actual* workings of government that he can scarcely be called consenting and surely not approving. It might even be asked at what point any individual personally consents to his form of government?

In addition, it is surely an implication of Bosanquet's position that the very stability of the institutions of society is that which prevents complete autonomy in the sense desired. Society could not maintain its institutions if a vote had to be taken every so often on the continuance of said institutions. And finally, in this regard, it would seem that no solitary individual is very capable of deciding on all the complex institutions of his society. On what basis would he make a judgment? Surely not on the basis of knowledge, for the average citizen does not possess enough of that to judge with intelligence on many matters beyond himself. For example, how could one possibly know enough about the economic system, the education system, or the establishments of science and technology to determine with any degree of rationality which of these many institutions should be continued and which should be scrapped?

³²Stephen Toulmin. *The Place of Reason in Ethics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), p. 378.

C. DOES PARTICIPATION CONSTITUTE APPROVAL?

Another question raised, which has particular relevance to Bosanquet, is whether one's actual participation in the rules and institutions of society constitutes acceptance. If, for example, one desires a television set, does this mean he *wills* or *approves* the institution responsible for its production? Or, if one wishes to establish a business partnership with an associate, does this mean he approves of the economic institutions which establish the possibility of that partnership? Or if one follows the laws of his nation, does this mean that he approves of that particular form of government?

The answer to these similar questions must be a qualified negative. The very fact that one participates in a given institution is not sufficient grounds for assuming that he approves the institution or its rules. The very fact that he desires a product does not mean that he necessarily approves of or wills the institution producing it. In fact, as Professor Diggs has written in a related vein:

One may seek earnestly to reform the moral conventions of a people, and yet insist that these conventions, some of which are in need of reform, are the general criterion by which a man must decide what in particular he ought to do, and by which his acts are to be judged.³³

One may thus disapprove of given rules or institutions, and yet follow the rules for other reasons, even moral reasons. One may have extreme distaste for General Electric, and yet still desire a General Electric television set.

But the negative is qualified. One cannot, it seems, participate in the rules of social institutions without at least giving some form of acceptance or consent. He consents to the rules to the extent that he follows them without objecting to them or asking if they are correct or good. He uses them as a criterion of rightness or wrongness, and, in addition, uses them to criticize the actions of others if they do not follow the rules. Approval is much stronger than this since it involves the moral or ethical practice of asking if the rules are "good." One cannot be said to approve a rule or institution if he has not questioned its moral worth. Thus man by participating in the rules of his society may be said to consent to them but not necessarily to give approval to them.

D. DO MEN, THEN, *Really* HAVE AUTONOMY?

³³Diggs, p. 38.

In the light of the above remarks, do men really, then, have autonomy? The answer must be a qualified affirmative. There is a sense in which man does govern himself, or in which he is governed by consent, or at least in which his autonomy is consonant with social authority. Liberty, at least as viewed metaphorically by Bosanquet, is certainly achievable even in the great complex of social systems in which modern man lives. Man consents to the rules by participating, in the sense that he uses them as criteria of correctness without asking the moral question if they are good rules, as has been shown. But there is another sense in which his autonomy is preserved. His autonomy is preserved to the extent that he exercises his ability to criticize the very rules and institutions of which he is a part. Of course, if he lives in a society whose rules or institutions prevent this practice, he cannot be said to have autonomy. But as long as he has this right and exercises it, his autonomy is safe and his obligation to authority is a moral one.

But the affirmative is a qualified one. It is qualified because even in man's right to criticize his institutions he is, in a sense, dependent upon society. He must criticize in the light of other institutions. For example, in evaluating the rights of Negroes to vote in the South, one does so in terms of and in relation to other rights and institutions. In criticizing any rule or institution, one must use language, which is, itself, a social institution. Thus it would have to be concluded that the autonomy of human-kind is a limited rather than absolute quality.³⁴

CONCLUSION

This paper has sought to present an analysis of the problem of personal autonomy and social authority. The problem was restated in the first section of the paper in the light of definitions of the concepts involved. Then the various solutions offered to the problem by representative philosophers were critically evaluated. Particular attention was given to Bosanquet's view, since it seemed to be the most promising one. Finally certain questions raised by the discussion were considered in the light of the modern state. It now remains to reiterate the basic conclusion drawn.

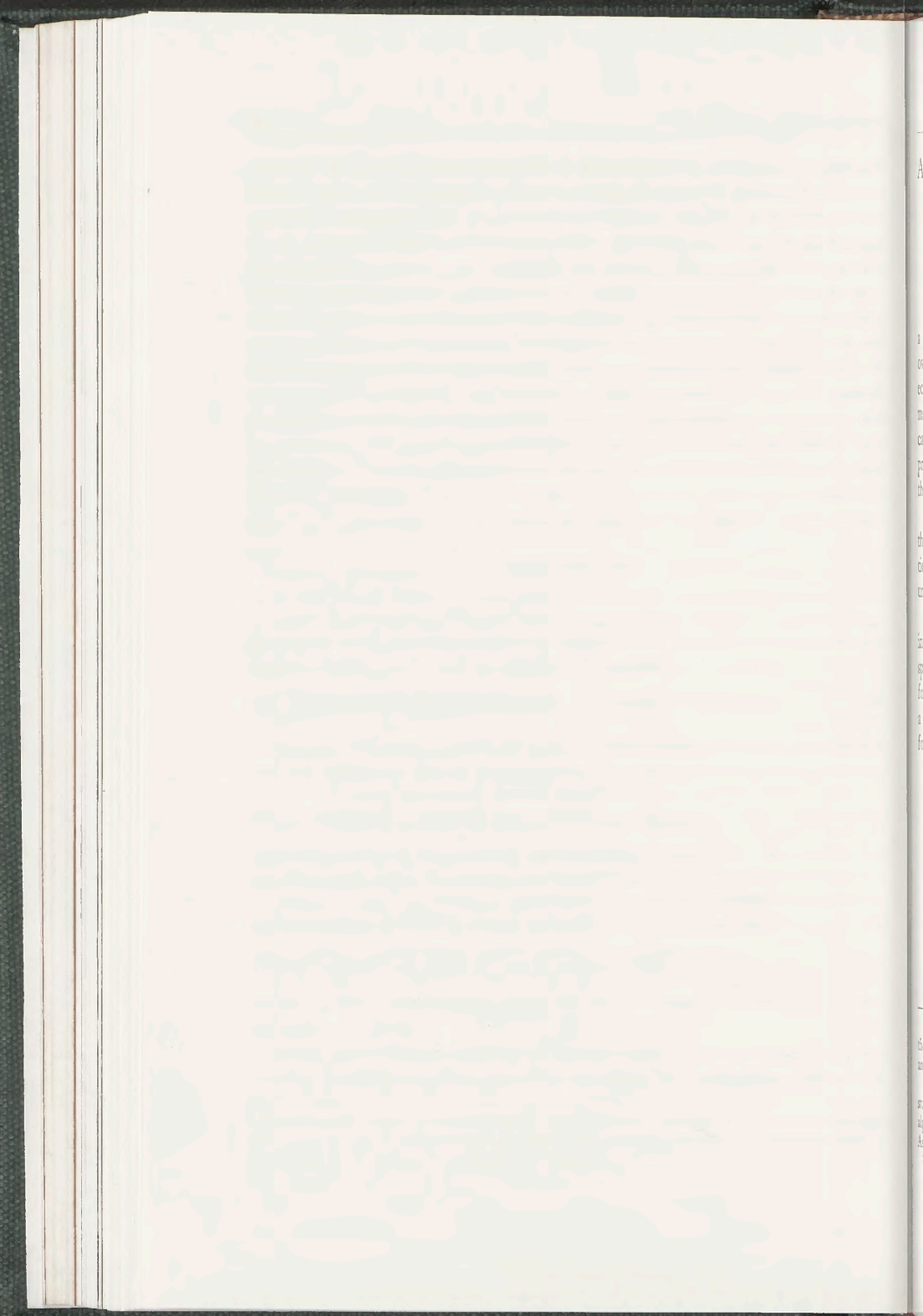
Social authority is certainly a fact of life. Man is deeply involved in rules, social principles, moral codes, laws, and institutions of society.

³⁴I am most eager to acknowledge that some of the conclusions in this section of the paper are developments of suggestions arising out of a seminar directed by Professor B. J. Diggs, University of Illinois.

Bosanquet correctly pictured man in his great dependence on society. He was no doubt correct in seeing a *metaphorical* or idealistic "social being" as the nature of society, with the rules of institutions particularized in individuals within it. Man best achieves his autonomy as he participates in the social interaction of the community. But his autonomy is predicated on his consent to the institutions of society which is implicit in his following them without objection or asking if they are good. He is furthermore autonomous in the exercise of his capacity of criticizing his institutions, which makes his relationship to society moral. But his autonomy is limited rather than absolute. It is, nonetheless, only as man exercises his deliberative capacities in these respects that he can (Rousseau-like) be called a human being. And it is only as man becomes *man* that he can appreciate the value of a "Socrates dissatisfied" over a "pig satisfied." Better it is to be a "Socrates chained" than a "pig running wild."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barker, Ernest, *The Politics of Aristotle*, Galaxy edition, New York, 1962.
- Baylis, Charles A., *Ethics: The Principles of Wise Choice*, New York, 1958.
- Benn, S. I., and R. S. Peters, *The Principles of Political Thought*, New York, 1965.
- Bosanquet, Bernard, *The Philosophical Theory of the State*. Fourth edition, London, 1958.
- Diggs, B. J., "Rules and Utilitarianism," *American Philosophical Quarterly*, Vol. I, 32-44.
- Hume, David, *Moral and Political Philosophy*, New York, 1948.
- Kant, Immanuel, *Groundwork of the Metaphysic of Morals*, Translated and analyzed by H. J. Paton, first Torchbook edition, New York, 1964.
- Locke, John, *Two Treatises of Civil Government*, Everyman's Library Ed., New York, 1924.
- Moore, Omar K., and Alan R. Anderson, "Puzzles, Games, and Social Interaction," in *Philosophical Problems of the Social Sciences*, edited by David Braybrooke, New York, 1965. pp. 68-79.
- Rousseau, Jean Jacques, *The Social Contract*, edited by Charles Frankel, New York, 1947.
- Toulmin, Stephen Edelston, *An Examination of the Place of Reason in Ethics*, Cambridge, 1950.



A PHONEMIC ALPHABET FOR ENGLISH: FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

by

JAMES N. CONIS

English is rapidly becoming the language most likely to succeed as a means of international communication. It now holds precedence over French as a diplomatic language. It has demonstrated its value in economic and commercial activities in world trade. Its speakers have made scientific and cultural contributions to world civilization. Because of its simplicity and clarity of expression, it remains the most practical medium of social intercourse between the civilized peoples of the world.

The ascendancy of English as the language of the future is, nevertheless, hindered more than it should be by the unnecessary complexities of its conventional system of orthography. English should become universal also in the symbols used in its system of spelling.

The urge to make English more readily accessible to foreign speakers, in addition to facilitating the education of the vast number of native speakers, has prompted scholars and linguists of many generations to formulate alphabetic systems which show a gradual evolution toward a more scientific method of transcribing English phonetically. The following list should include the most noteworthy attempts:

- 1848 — EAE — Ethnic Alphabet of Ellis
- 1854 — DA — Deseret Alphabet¹
- 1856 — SAL — Standard Alphabet of Lepsius
- 1877 — APA — American Philological Association
- 1888 — IPA — International Phonetic Alphabet²
- 1890 — SFA — Standard Fonetic Alphabet
- 1911 — NEA — National Education Association
- 1922 — SSB — Simplified Spelling Board
- 1928 — SRA — Spelling Reform Association
- 1940 — WFA — World Fonetic Alphabet³

¹A pioneer attempt to write English phonetically, this alphabet was primarily the work of George D. Watt, an early English convert to Mormonism who was an expert in using the Phonetic Alphabet of Sir Isaac Pitman.

²The International Phonetic Alphabet is familiar to most American and English students because of its frequent use in French grammars and textbooks. This alphabet is largely the work of Paul Passy, the founder of the International Phonetic Association.

³See J. R. Parsell, *One Alfabet* (Kansas City, 1948).

- 1946 — GBS — The Shaw Alphabet⁴
- 1947 — SSS — Simplified Spelling Society
- 1956 — T&S — Trager and Smith
- 1961 — ITA — Initial Teaching Alphabet

As scientifically sound and accurate as some of these systems may be, not one of them has been practical enough to become accepted as the new written form of the language. They have ranged from the bold Mormon pioneer invention of the Deseret Alphabet to the simplified forms proposed by George Bernard Shaw. Both of these systems replaced the traditional Latin symbols used in English by new characters which were completely foreign to users of the Latin alphabet. Thus they became a physical obstacle to those who might have been inclined to accept a needed change in the alphabet.

A personal desire to accelerate the current trend to make English a world language compels me to make my own attempt to find a better way of writing it phonetically. This purpose is two-fold in that it intends to simplify spelling and pronunciation and to facilitate the learning of the language by foreign speakers. Without denying the progress of our literary past, this paper attempts to give impetus to a movement already in progress. For this purpose, a more effective use of our present Romanic media (the Latin alphabet) will be tried to transcribe English in the easiest and most economical way. Thus, there is no advocating of a break with the past. On the contrary, there is an acceptance of all our heritage affords and a hope that a more practical method of writing the same expressions that have been used for more than a thousand years is being presented. Why shouldn't a system that is already understood by everybody from Canada to Australia be used?

Robert Lado has said that "phonemes are not letters." He states: "Sometimes a letter of the alphabet may represent a phoneme . . . but a phoneme is never a letter, it is a unit of sound."⁵ Why shouldn't the alphabet be composed of units of sound which are also letters which do not change from word to word? Perhaps one could say: "A hat is a hat is a hat." Is it not the same hat whether one puts it on his head or somewhere else? Why should the letter *c* represent the phoneme /k/ before *a, o, u* and the phoneme /s/ before *e* and *i*?

⁴See Amraham Tauber, *George Bernard Shaw on Language* (New York, 1963).

⁵Robert Lado, *Linguistics Across Cultures* (Ann Arbor, 1957), p. 9. In another of his books *LANGUAGE TEACHING* (New York, 1964), p. 219, Lado defines a phonemic alphabet as follows: "An alphabet having one letter for each phoneme of a language and always representing the same phoneme by the same letter."

In theory, Russian has essentially a system in which one letter represents one sound and vice versa. This feature makes Russian more phonetic than Spanish. If English had such a system in practice, it would be more phonetic and more practical than either Russian or Spanish.

Nowadays, most educated Americans (and certainly the educated Englishman or Canadian) are familiar with the grave and acute accents used in French. If accents were introduced into the spelling system of English, the result would be the economy of time and space advocated by Shaw and others. If one simple vowel were used consistently in English instead of digraphs or two-letter graphemes, from one to five spaces could be saved in certain words. Furthermore, it would be a simple matter to add one key to a standard English typewriter; and if the key were a dead key, no motion would be lost in backspacing.

The key to the system then will be the writing of English as a foreign language. With the addition of accents, the written language will take on one of the sophisticated characteristics of the Romance languages and still look as neat and literary as Spanish. Using the traditional value of the five primary vowel phonemes of Spanish, the long vowels *a*, *i* and *u* will carry acute accent marks to prolong their sound and to distinguish them from their short counterparts so common in English. The long vowels *e* and *o* will be represented by *ei* and *ou*, showing the natural tendency of these vowels to glide respectively into *i* and *u*. The short vowels will be represented by *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* (the schwa sound) and *ù* (the short sound of *u* in pull). The primary consonant phonemes may be written on any English typewriter with the simple addition of the number 3 as the letter for the phoneme /3/ or /zh/. The consonant phonemes and letters which represent them then will be /p b t d k g c j f v th dh s z x 3 m n ng l r h w y/. It will be noted that the digraphs *ch* and *sh* are to be replaced by the single letters *c* and *x* thus bestowing upon these two letters permanent and unalterable sounds.

The consonants may be arranged according to unvoiced and voiced pairs, the "nasal continuants", the "liquid" consonants, and the three which are frequently referred to as semivowels.

1. Unvoiced and voiced pairs:

/p/ as in *pin*
/b/ as in *bin*

/th/ as in *thin*
/dh/ as in *then*

/t/ as in <i>tin</i>	/s/ as in <i>sin</i>
/d/ as in <i>din</i>	/z/ as in <i>zinc</i>
/k/ as in <i>kin, could</i>	/x/ as in <i>she</i>
/g/ as in <i>get, good</i>	/ʒ/ as in <i>azure</i>
/c/ as in <i>chin</i>	
/j/ as in <i>gin</i>	
/f/ as in <i>fat</i>	
/v/ as in <i>vat</i>	

2. "Liquid" consonants:

/l/ as in <i>late, milk</i>
/r/ as in <i>red, for</i>

3. "Nasal continuant" consonants:

/m/ as in <i>man</i>
/n/ as in <i>now</i>
/ŋ/ as in <i>sing</i>

4. Three semivowels:

/h/ as in <i>hat</i>
/w/ as in <i>wet</i>
/y/ as in <i>yet</i>

The economy of using the same symbols for vowel and consonant phonemes as letters in the writing of English may be illustrated by the following list of words arranged according to the vowel or diphthong they contain: (The number of spaces saved appears to the right in parentheses).

1. Front Vowels as in:

/i/	sEE, EAt, chIEf, kEY, recElve, machIne, ChinEse, pEOple sí, ít, cíf, kí, rísív, muxín, cainíz, pípul (11)
/i/	gIn, bEEn, gYm, hYmn, prEtY, slEve, bUsiness, wOmen, bUIlt jin, bin, jim, him, priti, siv, bizinus, wimun, bilt (7)
/ei/	Elght, gAIIn, grEAt, dAY, Ale, gAUge, hElInous eit, gein, greit, dei, eil, geij, heinus (4)
/e/	bEt, sAIId, dEAd, gUEst, frIEnd, hElfer, lEOpard, sAYs bet, sed, ded, gest, frend, hefur, lepurd, sez (7)
/a/	At, rAn, thAn, mAn, mAtter, bAck, sAssafrAss at, ran, dhan, man, matur, bak, sasufra (4)

2. Central Vowels as in:

/u/ Up, sOn, EnOUgh, UndEr, About, gardEn, flr, wOrd, lEArn
up, sun, unuf, undur, ubaut, gárdun, fur, wurd, lurn (3)

/á/ fÁther, nOt, gUArD, sErgeant, hEArth, cAr, Arm
fádhur, nát, gárd, sárjunt, háρθ, kár, árm (3)

3. Back Vowels as in:

/ú/ rUle, fOOd, sOUp, canOE, tWO, frUIt, mOve, rhEUmatic
rúl, fúd, súp, kunú, tú, frút, múv, rúmatik (9)

/ù/ pUt, FOOt, cOULd, wOman, crOOks, stOOd, pUsh
pùt, fùt, kùd, wùmun, krùks, stùd, pùx (6)

/ou/ sOUl, bOAt, sLOW, Obey, bEAU, sEW, knOll, yEOman,
althOUGH

soul, bout, slou, oubei, bou, sou, noul, youmun, oldhou (3)

/o/ cLOth, lAW, cOrd, mOUrn, bOUGHt, tAUGHt, cALL,
wrOUGHt

kloth, lo, kord, morn, bot, tot, kol, rot (13)

4. Diphthongs as in:

/ai/ Ice, drY, dIE, hEIGHt, AIsle, nIGHt, flIGHt
ais, drai, dai, hait, ail, nait, flait (5)

/au/ nOW, OUt, hOUse, fOUndation, OUtdoor, shOUt
nau, aut, haus, faundeixun, autdor, xaut (3)

/oi/ bOIl, vicerOY, bOIsterous, pOlsonous, OYsters
boil, vaisroi, boisturus, poizunus, oisturz (2)

/ü/ nEW, bEAUty, dUE, Use, fEUd, mUsic, suffUision
nü, büti, dü, üz, füd, müzik, sufü3un (7)

Solving the problem of deciding upon which symbols to use as letters in the vowel system of a language is often the most difficult. Very few languages have only five pure vowels as do Spanish and Italian, for example. In English one must provide symbols for five front vowels, two central vowels, four back vowels, and four diphthongs. The symbol *ü* was chosen for the sound of *ew* in *new* rather than *iu* to avoid confusion with the sounds of the short vowels *i* and *u*. The ideal but impractical solution would be to order six new symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet for typewriters, hence three new keys. A system such as the Initial Teaching Alphabet which uses double vowels to represent one vowel phoneme would lengthen the language and obscure clarity of sound. The accented system

which is suggested now may prove useful at least until people are ready to advance to a better method of transcribing the sounds of English vowels. The three systems mentioned above would look like this:

I	II	III
α e i o u	ae ei ie ou ue	á ei í ou ú
a ɛ ɪ ɔ ʊ ə	a e i o oo u	a e i o ù ù

To familiarize oneself with the new Phonemic Alphabet for English, here are presented several sentences as exercises, some famous quotations chosen at random and a story from a second-grade reader.

1. Yú mei plei yor geimz if yú weit peixuntli until ai teik yor neimz.
2. Eimi keim dh seim wei on dh seim dei bai dh leit trein.
3. Aftur Keit weitud in dh rein and heil until eit, xí dísaídud tú gou houn.
4. Dh thrí thívz meid an ilígul trítí with dh wívur tú stíl dh Gríxun fríz.
5. Ai hurd dh thurd burd purtli surcing for an urli wurm.
6. Usembul dhí ouldur cildrun and ukumpani dhém tú thí egzubixum in thí urínu.
7. Ned'z nefü left dh bent ketul on dh ej ov dh yelou xelf.
8. Teik ker, dher ár u per ov cerz at dh fùt ov dh sterz.
9. Faiv hwait mais daíd from baiting fraíd rais and draíd ais.
10. Xí sábd despánduntli az xí párkht hur kár nír Wáxingtun Skwer.
Til laik wun in slumbur baund,
Born tú ouxun, Ai flout daun, uraund,
Intú u sí proufound ov evurlasting saund.

—SHELLEY

Bridhz dher u man widh soul so ded,
Hú nevur tú himself hath sed
Dhis iz mai oun, mai neitiv land?

—SCOTT

Tumorou, and tumorou, and tumorou kríps in dhis peti peis,
from dei tú dei, tú dh last silubul ov ríkrordud taim; and ol
aur yesturdeiz hav laitud fúlz dh wei tú dusti deth.

—SHAKESPEARE

If ol dh wurld and luv wur yung,
 And trúth in evri xepurdz tung,
 Dhíz priti pležúrú mait mí múv
 Tú liv widh dhí, and bí dhai luv.

—RALEIGH

DH TREIN RAID

Jein sed, "Run fast, Sali! It iz taim for dh trein tú gou. Kum and get on."

"Hír Ai kum!" sed Sali. "Plíz doun't let dh trein gou."

"Ou dir!" sed Sali. "Ai can't get on dh trein. Teik mai rabbit, Súzun. Dhen Ai kan get on."

Jein sed, "Hír, Súzun. Teik mai kat, tú. Dhen Ai kan help Sali."

Jein sed, "Lùk at Súzun!" Xí kan't get on dh trein nau. Ai wil hav tú help hur."

"Ai doun't wont help," sed Súzun. "Ai kan get on dh trein. Hír wí ol kum—kat, rabut, dog, and mí!"

Dhen Súzun and ol dh anumulz gát on dh trein.

Jein sed, "Let mí hav mai kat nau. Let Sali hav hur rabbit, tú."

Súzun lùkt up and sed, "Nat nau! Ai laik tú raid with u rabbit and u kat and u dog.

Sí hau priti dheí lùk up dher.⁶

Let this study conclude with the same announcement which accompanied transcriptions of the Sermon on the Mount and Proverbs in the Deseret Alphabet in the *Deseret News*:

We present to the people of . . . [the world the Phonemic Alphabet for English], but have not adopted any rules to bind the taste, judgment or preference of any. Such as it is you have it, and we are sanguine that the more it is practiced and the more intimately the people become acquainted with it, the more useful and beneficial it will appear.

The characters [in this case, the familiar characters of the Latin alphabet] are designed to represent the sounds for which they stand,

⁶Virginia Fox, "The Train Ride" in *FUN WITH OUR FRIENDS*, eds. Robinson, Monroe and Artley (Chicago, 1962), pp. 91-94.

and are so used. Where one stands alone, the name of the character or letter is the word, it being the only sound heard.

In the orthography of the published examples, Webster's pronunciation will be generally followed, though it will be varied when general usage demands. All words having the same pronunciation will be spelled alike, and the reader will have to depend upon the context for the meaning of such words.⁷

Who can foretell the importance of the English language ten years from now? It is hoped that this proposed system (a phonemic alphabet that consistently represents each phoneme of the language with the same letter) may prove worthwhile in promoting a better understanding between peoples of all cultures and civilizations wherever the English language may become useful.

* * * * *

PAFE or PAE: b d dh c f g h j h l m n ng p r s t th v w x y z 3
a á b c d dh e ei f g h i í j k l m n ng o ou p r s t th u ú ù v w x z 3
ai au oi ü

WORKS CONSULTED

- The Book of Mormon*, Tr. by Joseph Smith, Jr. Part I New York, 1869. Printed in characters of the Deseret Alphabet.
- The Deseret First Book* by the Regents of the Deseret University, Salt Lake City, 1868.
- The Deseret Second Book* by the Regents of the Deseret University, Salt Lake City, 1868.
- Dixon, Robert J., *Modern American English*, Book One New York, 1962.
- Fields, Victor A. and Bender, James F., *Voice and Diction*, New York, 1949.
- Finocchiaro, Mary, *English as a Second Language: From Theory to Practice*, New York, 1964.
- Gleason, H. A., Jr., *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*, Revised Edition, New York, 1961.
- Lado, Robert, *Language Teaching: A Scientific Approach*, New York, 1964.
- , *Linguistics across Cultures*, Ann Arbor, 1957.
- Lee, Donald W., *English Language Reader*, New York, 1963.
- Lefevre, Carl A., *Linguistics and the Teaching of Reading*, New York, 1964.
- Pei, Mario, *The Story of Language*, New York, 1964.
- Politzer, Robert L., *Foreign Language Learning*, Englewood Cliffs, 1965.
- Tauber, Abraham, *George Bernard Shaw on Language*, New York, 1963.
- Trager, George L. and Smith, Henry Lee, Jr., *An Outline of English Structure*, Washington, D.C., 1957.

⁷*Deseret News*, No. 3, Vol. IV, Great Salt Lake City, Jan. 19, 1854.

[illegible]

У ПУТЕ ВО ВОПРОСЫ,

71818 1804 P420 X 71818 26 40p.

[illegible][illegible]

7847 I.

NEW YORK:

PUBLISHED FOR THE DESERT UNIVERSITY
BY RUSSELL BROS.

1869.

1889.
Title Page of the *Book of Mormon* in the Deseret Alphabet

卷之三

一

二

三

四

五

六

七

八

九

十

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FIVE VIRGINIA CONSTITUTIONS

by

JOHN PAUL

Since Independence, Virginia has had five constitutions which have served as the fundamental law of the state. This article is a comparative study of these five constitutions with specific reference to the separation of powers within the state; the executive, legislative and judicial departments; the suffrage provisions and the means of amendment and ratification by the people.

The first constitution was that of 1776 which was drawn up by a convention of delegates from the counties and adopted on June 29, 1776, without being submitted to the people for ratification. This constitution was succeeded by those of 1830, 1850, 1870 and 1902. The Constitution of 1902, as amended, is that under which the Commonwealth is now governed.

In May of 1776, Virginia held a provincial Congress consisting of delegates elected from the various counties and cities. This Congress was intended primarily to carry on the ordinary business of government in default of the royal government. Despite the fact that the delegates to this Congress were not elected with the power of forming a new constitution, they undertook to do so. On May 15, 1776, a committee was appointed to prepare a Declaration of Rights and a plan of government which would maintain peace and order and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people. The committee reported a plan of government incorporating a Bill of Rights on June 24th and, after debate and amendment by a committee of the whole, the plan was adopted by a unanimous vote on June 29, 1776. This document was not submitted to the people for ratification.¹ The plan of government was subjected to much criticism and subsequently has been replaced four times; but the Bill of Rights has endured through the ages and been adopted in each succeeding constitution.

In Virginia in 1829 and 1830, a constitutional convention was held which rewrote the Constitution for the state. The convention which assembled in Richmond, October 5, 1829, and sat until January 15, 1830, was composed of many members of extraordinary distinction.

1J. N. Brenaman, *History of Virginia Conventions* (Richmond, 1902), pp. 33 ff.

There were no restrictions in the choice of delegates as to residence or office holding and therefore the ablest men in the state were chosen. Among its members were two former presidents of the United States, one of whom had been a member of the Convention of 1776 and of the Federal Convention of 1787; a future president; the Chief Justice of the United States; seven men who had been or were to be United States Representatives; four judges; four former governors; and many members of the State Legislature. James Monroe was unanimously elected President. James Madison and John Marshall were Chairmen of the Executive and Judicial Committees respectively.² The convention was called for the specific purpose of broadening the suffrage and of equalizing representation. This Constitution was submitted for ratification to the electorate. The vote for ratification was 26,055; that opposed was 15,563.³

Another convention was held in 1850 which produced the third Virginia constitution. This constitution widely broadened the suffrage provisions and provided for direct election by the people of all legislative and judicial officers and several executive officials. This document was submitted for ratification to the electorate and was adopted by a vote of 75,748 in favor; 11,060 opposed.⁴

The Constitution of 1870 was drafted in the turmoil following the Civil War. It was ratified by a vote of 210,585 to 9,136.⁵

The Convention of 1901-1902 prepared the Constitution which serves Virginia today. This document was proclaimed and never submitted to the people for ratification. Doubts as to the validity of this procedure were raised at the time.⁶ The validity of the Constitution was

²Fletcher M. Green, *Constitutional Development in the South Atlantic States, 1776-1860* (1966), p. 211.

³Brenaman, p. 48.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 77-78. The turmoil of the so-called Underwood Convention was due in part to its composition. Of the one hundred and five members, only thirty-five were conservatives and sixty-five were labeled radicals. Twenty-seven of the radicals were not native-born Virginians. The delegate from Rockingham, Jacob N. Liggett, was expelled from the convention because at one point during a roll-call vote he rose to say "I refuse to vote, because I am disgusted with the whole proposition."

⁶A. C. Braxton, "Powers of Convention," *Virginia Law Register*, 7 (1902) 80; *Debates of the Constitutional Convention 1901-1902*, pp. 3200. The chief reason for not submitting the Constitution to the people for ratification was seldom so frankly stated as by Carter Glass who stated in debate in the Convention: "I declared then that no body of Virginia gentlemen could frame a Constitution so obnoxious to my sense of right and morality that I would submit its fate to 146,000 ignorant negro voters (great applause) whose capacity for

sustained by the Court of Appeals which reasoned that the legislative and executive departments had recognized it and it had been acquiesced in by the people.⁷

The scope of this paper is necessarily limited and many facets of the various constitutions are not treated. The writer has chosen to limit consideration to a review of the executive, legislative and judicial functions; the right of suffrage and the separation of powers.

SUFFRAGE

The Constitution of 1776 provided that the right of suffrage in elections for members of the legislature remain the same as it had been prior to independence which limited suffrage to freeholders.⁸

Suffrage was broadened in the Constitution of 1830 wherein it was provided, in Section 14, that every white male citizen aged twenty-one years and over, being qualified under the previous constitution; or possessed of an estate or freehold in land of value of \$25 or a reversion or vested remainder in fee in land of the value of \$50; or who owned a leasehold estate for a term not less than five years the annual rental value of which was at least \$20; and had paid all taxes assessed prior to the election be granted the right of suffrage. Persons of unsound mind, paupers, convicted felons, or enlisted members and non-commissioned officers in the service of the United States were not granted the right.⁹

The Constitution of 1850 extended suffrage much further granting the franchise to every white male citizen of the Commonwealth of the age of twenty-one years other than persons of unsound mind, paupers, non-commissioned officers and enlisted members in the service of the United States, those convicted of bribery in an election, and convicted felons.¹⁰

The Constitution of 1870 granted the franchise to every male citizen of the United States of twenty-one years or more who was a resident in Virginia for twelve months, but again it denied the franchise to those persons who were idiots and lunatics; to those convicted of

self-government we have been challenging for thirty years past. . . . I would not . . . come to Richmond for the avowed purpose of disfranchising a people whose enfranchisement we had denounced as the crime of the century for thirty years, and then require me to submit the work of this body to their arbitrament." Debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1901-1902, Vol. II p. 3257.

⁷Taylor v. Commonwealth, 101 Va. 829, 44 S. E. 754 (1903).

⁸F. N. Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Organic Laws*, 7 (Washington, D. C., 1909) 3816.

⁹Va. Const. of 1830, Art. III, Sec. 14; Thorpe, p. 3825.

¹⁰Va. Const. of 1850, Art. III, Sec. 1; Thorpe, p. 3833.

bribery in any election, of embezzlement of public funds, or of treason or felony; and to those participating in duels.¹¹ The Constitution proposed by the Convention contained two clauses which would have greatly limited the franchise: a clause disabling certain participants in the Confederate cause¹² and a clause requiring a test oath.¹³ However, these two clauses were submitted for ratification to the people separately and they were rejected.¹⁴

The Constitution of 1902 provided that every male citizen of the United States of twenty-one years of age who was a resident within the state for two years and who had paid the state poll tax be granted the franchise.¹⁵

However, this Constitution also provided that those persons presenting themselves to be registered to vote must, unless physically unable, make application to register in their own handwriting without aid, suggestion, or memorandum, stating therein their name, age, date and place of residence and occupation and other information.¹⁶

Further amendment¹⁷ of the Constitution of 1902 has broadened suffrage within Virginia, and recent Court decisions¹⁸ and United States Constitutional amendments¹⁹ have continued this course.

SEPARATION OF POWERS

The doctrine of separation of powers was fundamental to the thinking of the draftsmen of the 1776 Constitution. It was clearly stated

¹¹Va. Const. of 1870, Art. III, Sec. 1; Thorpe, p. 3875.

¹²Va. Const. of 1870, Art. III, Sec. 1, Clause 4; Thorpe, p. 3876.

¹³Va. Const. of 1870, Art. III, Sec. 7; Thorpe, p. 3877.

¹⁴Brenaman, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹⁵Va. Const. of 1902, Art. II, Sec. 18; Thorpe, p. 3906.

¹⁶Va. Const. of 1902, Art. II, Sec. 20; Thorpe, p. 3907.

¹⁷Amendment of Art. II, Sec. 18, ratified June 19, 1928, reduced the state residence requirement from two years to one year and extended suffrage to females to conform to the Nineteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution. Amendment of Art. II, Sec. 20, ratified November 6, 1962, provided for registration upon a form provided by the registration officer. Article XVII, adopted in 1945 and amended in 1960, provided for voting by servicemen.

¹⁸In *Harper v. Virginia State Board of Elections*, 383 U. S. 663 (1966), the Supreme Court declared that the requirement of payment of any poll tax as a condition for voting is unconstitutional. In *South Carolina v. Katzenbach*, 383 U. S. 301 (1966), the Supreme Court upheld major provisions of the Federal Voting Rights Act of 1965 as a valid exercise of power under the Fifteenth Amendment.

¹⁹Amendment XIX providing for woman suffrage declared ratified on August 26, 1920. Amendment XXIV, poll tax payment not required to vote in Federal elections, declared ratified on February 4, 1964.

in Section 5 of the Virginia Bill of Rights that the legislative, executive and judicial departments of the state should be separate and distinct.²⁰ Section 5 of the Bill of Rights has remained in the Virginia Constitution since that date without abridgment of this doctrine.

LEGISLATIVE BODIES

The Constitution of 1776 provided that the legislature be formed of two distinct branches. The lower house was the House of Delegates consisting of two representatives for each county and one delegate for each city. The second house, the Senate, was to consist of twenty-four members, each representing districts divided along county lines. The General Assembly, thus constituted, had broad powers. The Governor of the State was selected annually by joint ballot of both houses. The Governor, with limited powers, was charged with the responsibility of exercising the executive powers of government with the advice of the Council of State. The Council of State or Privy Council consisted of eight members also to be selected by joint ballot of the General Assembly.²¹ The Council of State appears to have been intended to be a further check, by the legislature, upon the powers of the Governor. The Constitution of 1830 redistricted both houses of the General Assembly and reduced the Council of State to three members.²² Annual sessions of the legislature were provided for by both the Constitutions of 1776 and 1830. The Constitution of 1850 reapportioned both houses of the General Assembly and increased the number of representatives in the House of Delegates to 152 members and in the Senate to 50 members.²³ This Constitution provided biennial sessions of the General Assembly²⁴ and also provided that a Governor with broadened powers be elected for a term of four years directly by the people of the state²⁵ rather than be selected by the General Assembly. The Constitutions of 1870 and 1902, each in turn, reapportioned both houses of the legislature. The Constitution of

²⁰Virginia Bill of Rights, Section 5. Thorpe, p. 3813. The provision is also set forth in the 1776 Constitution, Thorpe, p. 3815, and retained in Art. III of the 1902 Constitution.

²¹Thorpe, *op. cit.*, pp. 3815-17.

²²Va. Const. of 1830, Art. III; Thorpe, pp. 3821-26; Art. IV, Sec. 5; Thorpe, p. 3826.

²³Va. Const. of 1850, Art. IV; Thorpe, pp. 3833 et seq.

²⁴Va. Const. of 1850, Art. IV; Sec. 8; Thorpe, p. 3838.

²⁵Va. Const. of 1850, Art. V, Sec. 1; Thorpe, p. 3843.

1870 provided for annual sessions²⁶ of the legislature but that of 1902 reverted to biennial sessions.²⁷ This practice has been continued to the present day.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

Executive functions were given to the Governor of Virginia acting with the advice of the Privy Council by the Constitution of 1776.²⁸ The Governor, at that time, was charged with the exercise of the executive powers "according to the laws of this Commonwealth," but was precluded from exercising any power or prerogative by virtue of the laws, statutes or customs of England. This Constitution did not elaborate any specific duties or powers of the Governor other than to grant the specific power to pardon, to appoint justices of the peace for the counties, to call out the militia, and to make temporary appointments to fill vacancies in any state office. In order to exercise any of the foregoing functions, the Constitution required the Governor to act with the advice of the Privy Council which would be entered on record in writing.²⁹ The Governor was elected by the joint vote of the General Assembly and it can be seen that the limited powers granted the Chief Magistrate of Virginia by the Constitution of 1776 reflected the deep distrust of the office among the people which no doubt had been engendered by the sometimes arbitrary behavior of the royal governors.

The Constitution of 1830 extended the term of the Governor from one year to three years but provided that he be ineligible for re-election.³⁰ The Constitution broadened the specific grants of power to the Governor and diminished the influence of the Council of State in that the Governor was required to seek the advice of the Council of State only in the exercise of his discretionary powers.³¹ The Constitution of 1850 provided for direct election of the Governor of the Commonwealth by the people. The term of office was enlarged to four years and again the Governor was ineligible to succeed himself.³² The specific powers of the Governor were broadened and the Council of

²⁶Va. Const. of 1870, Art. V, Sec. 6; Thorpe, p. 3884.

²⁷Va. Const. of 1902, Art. IV, Sec. 46; Thorpe, p. 3912.

²⁸Thorpe, p. 3817.

²⁹Thorpe, p. 3818.

³⁰Va. Const. of 1830, Art. IV, Sec. 1; Thorpe, p. 3826.

³¹*Ibid.*, Art. IV, Sec. V; Thorpe, p. 3826.

³²Va. Const. of 1850, Art. V, Sec. 1; Thorpe, p. 3843.

State was abolished.³³ This Constitution also provided for the direct election by the people of the Lieutenant Governor to serve in the absence of the Governor and to act as President of the Senate.³⁴ Other executive offices including Secretary of the Commonwealth and Treasurer and Auditor were established to be elected by the joint vote of the two houses of the General Assembly and to continue in office for a term of two years.³⁵ A Board of Public Works consisting of three commissioners directly elected by the people of the state from three districts within the state was provided to supervise public works.³⁶

The Constitution of 1870 extended the powers of the Governor to include the power to veto legislation and provided that to pass legislation over the objection of the Governor would require a two-thirds vote of each house of the General Assembly.³⁷ Although the offices of Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of the Commonwealth, Treasurer and Auditor continued with much the same duties and powers as had been provided under the Constitution of 1850, the elected Board of Public Works was replaced by a Board of Public Works, the membership of which consisted of the Governor, Auditor and Treasurer.³⁸ The Constitution of 1902 closely followed the provisions of that of 1870.³⁹ The offices of Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of the Commonwealth, State Treasurer and Auditor were continued.⁴⁰ A Department of Agriculture and Immigration was established with the members of the Board of Commissioners appointed by the Governor upon the confirmation of the Senate.⁴¹ The Commissioner of Agriculture and Immigration was to be elected for a term of four years by the qualified voters of the state.⁴² By amendment in 1928, this office was changed to an appointive office.⁴³ The Constitution provided for a Board of Directors for Public Institutions and Prisons. Members of this Board were to be appointed by the Governor subject to confirmation by the

³³Va. Const. of 1850, Art. V, Sec. 5; Thorpe, p. 3844.

³⁴Va. Const. of 1850, Art. V, Sec. 8, 9, 10; Thorpe, p. 3844.

³⁵Va. Const. of 1850, Art. V, Sec. 11; Thorpe, p. 3844.

³⁶Va. Const. of 1850, Art. V, Sec. 15-18; Thorpe, p. 3845.

³⁷Va. Const. of 1870, Art. IV, Sec. 8; Thorpe, p. 3878.

³⁸Va. Const. of 1870, Art. IV, Sec. 17; Thorpe, p. 3880.

³⁹Va. Const. of 1902, Art. V, Sec. 73; Thorpe, p. 3918.

⁴⁰Va. Const. of 1902, Art. V, Sec. 77-82; Thorpe, pp. 3920-21.

⁴¹Va. Const. of 1902, Art. X, Sec. 143-146; Thorpe, p. 3934.

⁴²Va. Const. of 1902, Art. X, Sec. 145; Thorpe, p. 3934.

⁴³Va. Const. of 1902, Amendment of 1928, Sec. 145.

Senate.⁴⁴ By the amendment in 1928 this Board was abolished.⁴⁵ A State Board of Education to supervise the establishment and maintenance of the public school system throughout the state was created. Members of the Board, other than the Superintendent of Public Instruction, were elected by the State Senate. The Superintendent of Public Instruction was elected for a term coincidental with that of the Governor by the people at large.⁴⁶ The amendment in 1928 provided that the State Board of Education and the Superintendent of Public Instruction be appointed by the Governor, subject to confirmation by the General Assembly.⁴⁷

STATE CORPORATION COMMISSION

The Constitution of 1902 established a State Corporation Commission consisting of three members appointed by the Governor, subject to confirmation by the General Assembly. They were to hold terms of six years and were charged with the responsibility of supervising, regulating and controlling, generally, the corporate activities within the state.⁴⁸ The executive powers granted the State Corporation Commission cannot be treated properly in this paper. It appears to be the unanimous opinion of most commentators on the subject of the 1901 Constitutional Convention that the establishment of the State Corporation Commission was the most important achievement of that Convention.⁴⁹

JUDICIARY DEPARTMENT

The Constitution of 1776 did not in any way drastically alter the judicial organization of the state which was in existence in the colonial era. It provided that the judges of the Supreme Court of Appeals, the Attorney General and the lesser judges be appointed by the General Assembly.⁵⁰ The Justices of the Peace for the counties were appointed by the Governor with the advice of the Privy Council upon the recommendation of the respective county courts.⁵¹

⁴⁴Va. Const. of 1902, Art. XI, Sec. 148; Thorpe, p. 3935.

⁴⁵Va. Const. of 1902, Art. XI, Sec. 148, Amendment of 1928.

⁴⁶Va. Const. of 1902, Art. IX, Sec. 131; Thorpe, p. 3935.

⁴⁷Va. Const. of 1902, Art. IX, Sec. 130-1, Amendment of 1928.

⁴⁸Va. Const. of 1902, Art. XII; Thorpe, pp. 3936-47.

⁴⁹R. C. McDanel, *The Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1901-1902* (Baltimore, 1928) pp. 5966.

⁵⁰Va. Const. of 1776; Thorpe, p. 3817.

⁵¹Va. Const. of 1776; Thorpe, p. 3818.

The Constitution of 1830 vested the judicial power in the Supreme Court of Appeals and in such other courts as the legislature might from time to time establish. Again provision was made for the election of the judges by the General Assembly.⁵²

The Constitution of 1850 provided for the direct election of all judges by the people. The judicial system was revised to provide for a Supreme Court of Appeals consisting of five judges. A lesser appellate level was provided which was denominated the district court. The lowest level of courts of record was the circuit court.⁵³ Article 6, Section 11 of the Constitution of 1850 specifically provided for judicial review in that the Supreme Court of Appeals was granted the authority to review "the constitutionality of a law." The Constitution of 1870 maintained the Court of Appeals but provided that the five judges serving thereon be chosen by the General Assembly. The district appellate courts were abolished and the circuit courts were continued, but election of the judges for the circuit courts was by the General Assembly.⁵⁴ A lesser court level, termed the county court, was created and again the judges were selected by the General Assembly.⁵⁵

The Constitution of 1902 closely followed the provisions of the 1870 Constitution. The Supreme Court of Appeals was enlarged from five to seven members by the amendment of 1928.⁵⁶

CONCLUSIONS

The evolution of Constitutional government in Virginia presents a fascinating field of study. As is true with all human institutions, these documents reflect both the glorious and the mundane. The inclusion of the Virginia Bill of Rights in all five documents is a constant source of inspiration; a provision dealing with the natural oyster beds⁵⁷ is somewhat more risible.

A sub-theorem of Parkinson's Law may be demonstrated by the growth in length of the documents after each convention. The Constitution of 1776 was six and one-half pages in length; that of 1830 was ten pages; that of 1850 was twenty pages; that of 1870 was thirty-

⁵²Va. Const. of 1830, Art. V; Thorpe, p. 3827.

⁵³Va. Const. of 1850, Art. VI; Thorpe, pp. 3845 et seq.

⁵⁴Va. Const. of 1870, Art. VI, Sec. 1-12; Thorpe, p. 3887.

⁵⁵Va. Const. of 1870, Art. VI, Sec. 13; Thorpe, p. 3888.

⁵⁶Va. Const. of 1902, Art. VI, Sec. 88, Amendment of 1928.

⁵⁷Va. Const. of 1902, Art. XIII, Sec. 175.

two pages; and that of 1902 was sixty-two pages. In the welter of conflicting group interests represented at each convention, it appears that many items were embodied in the fundamental law which might more reasonably have been delegated to legislative enactment.

The executive powers have broadened considerably since 1776. The hostility and suspicion with which the colonists viewed the Chief Magistrate were reflected in the extreme limitations placed upon the powers of the Governor. The majority of these limitations have withered away with each successive constitutional document. Concurrently, the powers of the legislature have been somewhat reduced. One illustration of the reduction in status of the legislature is the provision under the most recent constitution for legislative sessions every two years.

Suffrage and popular sovereignty increased enormously from 1776 to 1850. All important officers were directly elected by the white male citizens under the Constitution of 1850. However, popular sovereignty diminished markedly with the Constitutions of 1870 and 1902 as most offices became appointive rather than elective. Suffrage was reduced by the Constitution of 1902 by such means as the poll tax and "blank paper" registration provisions. Only recently have these built-in limitations on suffrage been defeated by a combination of federal and state constitutional amendments, legislation and court decisions.

THE USES OF EDUCATIONAL MEDIA IN FAIRFAX COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

by

MARY HELEN S. YOUNGS

Title of Thesis: The Uses of Educational Media in Fairfax County Public Schools

Statement of Problem: To report how Fairfax County School Board has attempted to improve instruction by providing proper educational media in effective quantities and highest quality.

Brief Exposition of Methods and Procedures Employed in Gathering Data:

Fairfax County began a film program in the early 1950's with a library of several hundred prints. It has grown constantly and last year \$119,000 was spent on the film library, now making our film library 3,000 prints and 1,500 titles.

This year we have moved into a school building, having the entire building which consists of (1) an instructional development section, (2) a distribution section, and (3) a production section.

Methods and Procedures: To Improve Education.

1. By insuring that teachers understand the value of, and are integrating, instructional materials in their teaching to enrich the classroom learning experience.
2. By correcting the misuse of instructional media.
3. By the AV coordinator keeping himself well-informed and up-to-date on new and improved instructional media.
4. By orienting teachers to the services that the media center provides for them.
5. By providing an opportunity for teachers to come together for an exchange of ideas and understanding of each other's subject areas
 - (a) To encourage a building team approach to presentation of subject mater.
 - (b) To improve the continuity of learning experiments.
6. By providing students with in-service education in order to assist the teacher in

- (a) Operation of equipment
 - (b) Storage and retrieval of equipment
 - (c) Other services
7. By determining specific objectives for each different in-service education program.

Conferences were held with principals, supervisors, directors and the superintendent. Elementary, Intermediate, and High Schools were visited and conference with teachers and librarians provided valuable information.

Summary of the Findings of the Study: An adequate supply of professional media personnel must be developed and made available who can assist in bringing to school systems new modes of instruction—new modes which capitalize both on what has been learned about learning and about the materials, methods, and instruments which can facilitate learning—make it more effective. This is the purpose of the *Instructional Media Center of the Fairfax County Schools*.

Educators, who have recognized the need for media services and who have developed action programs, frequently refer to the media director in the following manner:

The instructional media director is the key to the administrative and functional success of the school building teaching-learning program.

Next to the teacher, the key person in a building or campus audiovisual program is the coordinator—this person could be superintendent, the building principal, the school librarian, the chairman of a building audiovisual committee, or a teacher.

The audiovisual coordinator is an educator and not a gadgeteer. He is a student of human relations who commands the respect of his associates by precept, example, and fitness, rather than fanfare.

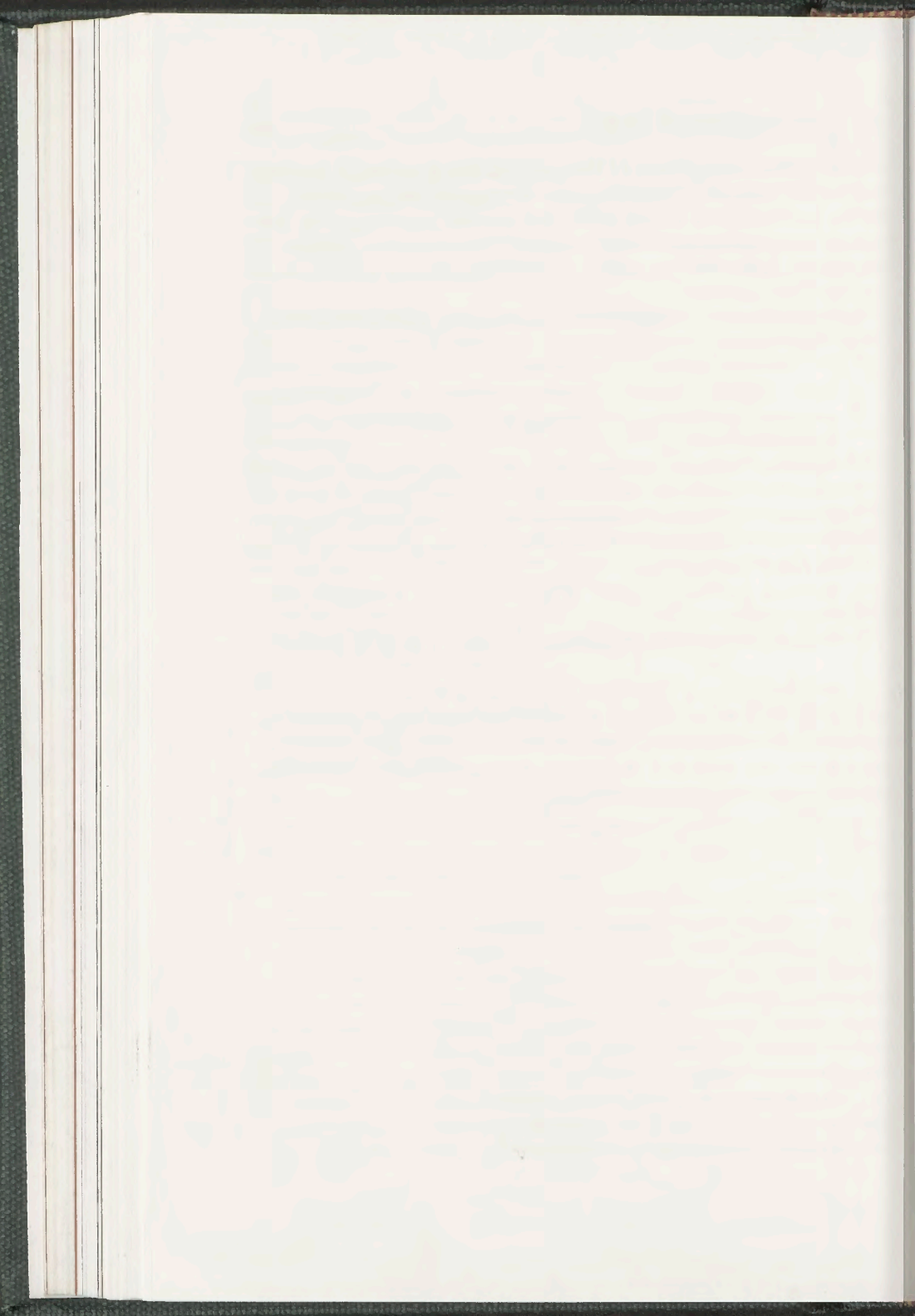
In Fairfax County it was found facilities needed for improvement of instruction are both *things* and *people*. All educational administrative programs should include plans for an instructional media center properly equipped and staffed to adequately meet the demands of the instructional design. Its purpose should be to improve instruction and to increase and reinforce learning. Its organization should include: (1) an instructional development section, (2) a distribution section, and (3) a production section. The instructional development section should

concentrate on those phases of the program which emphasize learning, curriculum analysis, evaluation and appropriate use of media. Its media professional(s) should work as a catalyst to bring about warranted change. Its over-all role is to serve teachers and students by providing instruction, materials and facilities needed in pursuit of teaching and learning.

The objectives of education and concerns in the Fairfax County Public schools are:

1. At all levels of education there is an *emphasis on a greater scope and depth of learning*, and creating more opportunities for learning for more people.
2. Learning becomes person-centered through encouragement of individual initiative, responsibility, and motivation.
3. A sense of personal identification and participation in the learning process shifts the students' emphasis from passive observation to *active participation*.
4. Students are being taught to *understand the principles* rather than the facts.
5. Formal education has become *a beginning* rather than an end.

In the final analysis, the Instructional Media Center is concerned with those services which assist in improving instruction and in bringing about efficient learning. Instructional resources appropriately applied to learning tasks will be primary to the fulfillment of the objectives of contemporary education.



THE VISITORS OF MADISON COLLEGE

RUSSELL M. WEAVER, *Rector*
HARRISONBURG

HELEN M. STUART, *Vice-Rector*
RICHMOND

CHARLES C. BROUN
MARTINSVILLE

WALLACE L. CHANDLER
RICHMOND

MRS. D. KIRK HAMMOND
DECATUR, GEORGIA

THE HONORABLE BURR P. HARRISON
WINCHESTER

DABNEY S. LANCASTER
MILLBORO SPRINGS

J. LEONARD MAUCK
MARION

THOMAS E. SEBRELL III
ALEXANDRIA

MRS. EMILY N. SPONG
PORTSMOUTH

G. FRED SWITZER
HARRISONBURG

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

G. FRED SWITZER, *Chairman*

CHARLES C. BROUN

DABNEY S. LANCASTER

RECTOR, *member ex officio*

RICHARD C. MANDEVILLE, *Secretary*

OFFICERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION

G. TYLER MILLER, B.S., LL.D.....	<i>President</i>
PAUL C. CLINE, M.A.....	<i>Executive Assistant to the President</i>
RICHARD C. MANDEVILLE, B.A.....	<i>Director of Public Relations</i>
DANIEL R. HALL, D.Ed.....	<i>Dean of the College</i>
DAVID E. FOX, Ed.D.....	<i>Assistant Dean of the College</i>
PAULINE C. LONG, M.A. in Ed.....	<i>Registrar</i>
JAMES W. FOX, Ed.D.....	<i>Dean of Student Services</i>
FAY J. REUBUSH, Ed.D.....	<i>Dean of Women</i>
JOHN T. RICE, M.A.	<i>Dean of Men</i>
ELIZABETH G. SHAFER, M.S.....	<i>Assistant Dean of Women</i>
PATRICIA C. DUNN, M.Ed.....	<i>Assistant Dean of Women</i>
WILLIAM J. DeLONG, M.A...	<i>Director of Admissions and Student Aid</i>
RAY V. SONNER, M.Ed.....	<i>Director of Field Services and Placement</i>
ADOLPH H. PHILLIPS, B.S.....	<i>Business Manager</i>
LYMAN SEESE, B.A.....	<i>Treasurer</i>

MADISON COLLEGE

Accredited by : Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education for Preparation of Elementary Teachers and Secondary Teachers with the Master's Degree as the Highest Degree Offered, Virginia State Board of Education.

Member of: Association of American Colleges, Association of Virginia Colleges, American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, American Council on Education, National Commission on Accrediting, Association of State Colleges and Universities.

Corporate member of: American Association of University Women.

